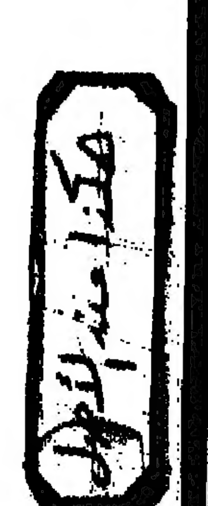




The German Tribune

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...urg, 25 September 1983
...-second year - No. 1101 - By air

US hand may be forced by Lebanon casualties

...TTGARTER ZEITUNG

...American troops have been kill-... in Lebanon and several wound-... the casualty rate begins to increa-... hand of the American govern-... may be forced.

... dilemma the administration ... face is: bring the boys back ... or build up the force. Pressure for ... is growing in America.

... second would turn the multina-... peace-keeping force into a decisi-... litary factor. This is what the Le-... President, Amin Gemayel ... will happen.

... a question the Americans have ... postponing since the peace-keep-... force became directly entangled in ... civil war.

... decisions are equally explosive. ...ever choice is made, the Ameri-... would be held to blame for what-... happened in Lebanon.

... does not mean that the, more ... anything else, symbolic presence ... the Americans in Lebanon and the ... optical build-up of this presence ... eastern part of the Mediterranean ... right way to help Lebanon back ... peace and sovereignty.

... in conjunction with the British, ...ch and Italian forces the Ameri-... will never be able to separate the ... forces.

... small peace-keeping force is in ...er of being dragged deeper into a ... in which Beirut's government for-... and the Christian militia, left-wing ...lem groups, Druze, Syrians, Palesti-..., and even Iranians are engaged in ... combat.

... Israeli retreat from its unsafe ...tions brought about the turn for the ... Although this move by Jerusa-... showed that the Israelis did not in ... long run feel able to play the part of protecting power in Lebanon (on account of its own losses), it also underlined just what a stabilising element the 30,000 Israeli soldiers south of Beirut and in the Shouf in fact were.

The fact that during the past few days over 100,000 people have fled behind the Israeli lines shows where the best chances of survival are at the moment in Lebanon: in the Israeli-occupied south.

The vacuum left behind to the north of the Awali River has become all the more dangerous. It looks as though this will turn into the scene of a Soviet-American substitute war for power and influence in Lebanon and the Arab world.

Not only are Soviet and American arms involved, the superpowers themselves are at the ready: the Americans and their navy off the Lebanese coast; the Russians in their Syrian artillery positions.

One false move, any kind of military over-reaction by one side or the other, could spark off a real war between the two superpowers.

Both Washington and Moscow are hardly likely to be interested in this. Although the Soviet Union has traditionally stirred up troubles in the Middle East and tried to benefit from the situation, the outbreak of a supraregional conflict is too risky an enterprise.

It looks as if the war in Lebanon has now become to hot to handle on a military to bring it to an end.

Each day makes it more and more clear that no one side can gain a military victory in Lebanon. And — at least at present — the multinational force in Lebanon is a guarantee that this is the way things will stay.

Diplomatic moves have been intensified and increased. The primary objective must be to achieve a truce, regardless

Continued on page 3

IN THIS ISSUE



Zambian President Kaunda in Bonn with President Carstens this month. (Photo: dpa)

Namibia on the agenda for Kaunda talks

Nordwest Zeitung

Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia for 20 years, has paid an official visit to Bonn. Zambia is one of Africa's front line states which condemns South Africa's policies.

President Kaunda himself is one of the few politicians in Black Africa who advocates a peaceful solution to the problems facing this part of the world.

As the Federal Republic of Germany is one of the five countries belonging to the so-called "contact group" seeking a solution to the Namibia question, this topic was prominent in discussions with German Foreign Minister Genscher.

Up to now, Kaunda has cleverly steered his country clear of the major international fronts and maintained true non-alignment.

This has not always benefited a country which as a result of this policy has missed out on capital flows from both eastern and western industrialised nations. It is one of the world's most heavily debted nations.

The visit to the Federal Republic has not only focussed on the political dialogue on South Africa, but also on economic aid from Bonn, not just from the government but also from private sources. Germany will not be able to ignore President Kaunda's request. He himself will have realised, however, that it come at a very difficult time.

Wolfgang Fechner

(Nordwest Zeitung, 13 September 1983)

Korean jet: why Greece played down the condemnation

Most other member countries of the EEC expected political surprises during the six-month Greek presidency of the EEC's Council of Ministers. The Greeks have proved them right.

Greece has showed no sign of intending to refrain from its foreign-policy escapades.

The first surprise move came on the missiles question: in letters sent to his fellow foreign ministers, Greek Foreign Minister Yannis Charalambopoulos made the suggestion to postpone Nato rearmament by six months should the Geneva talks fail to reach an agreement.

This suggestion has in the meantime been rejected by all those countries in which the missiles would be deployed.

Whereas the Greek socialist government could count on the support of many of its sister parties in Western Europe on this issue, its stance on the shooting down of the South Korean airliner left it out on a limb.

The incident was condemned throughout the western world as a barbaric and brutal act. The Greek government, however, showed great restraint in its initial official statements.

On the day of the tragedy, Foreign Minister Charalambopoulos expressed his "deep sorrow at the loss of the South Korean airliner", yet there was no condemnation of the act itself.

Even after Moscow had admitted to shooting down the plane, the Greeks still kept to their restraint.

It was therefore hardly surprising that Greece was one of the countries which voted against anti-Soviet sanctions by Nato last week. Together with France, Spain, Denmark and Turkey, Greece decided against a resolution accepted by the majority to suspend flights to and from the Soviet Union for a period of two weeks.

Finally, Greece found itself at the centre of a major row during the conference of EEC foreign ministers in Athens last week.

Despite concerted efforts to change the Greek position, Charalambopoulos refused to agree on a joint EEC condemnation of the Soviet Union.

This is not the first time that Papandreou's government has stepped out of the Nato and EEC line. The Greeks tow

Continued on page 2

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

European security talks go to the next stage



The next stage of the CSCE process is to begin in Helsinki next month just six weeks after the end of the review conference in Madrid.

A preparatory meeting will decide there on the agenda, schedule and procedure for the security conference in Stockholm next January.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has welcomed the decision to hold this conference as "one of the most important results in Madrid."

However, the fact that the Soviet Union did everything to try and get the conference held this year does suggest some kind of Soviet trick.

Is Moscow's intention to lull the West into a false feeling of security and disperse worries about excessive Soviet armament?

This kind of thinking definitely stood sponsor to the moves made by Moscow and its Eastern European allies during the second half of the seventies to stage an "Overall European Conference on Military Detente and Disarmament". This desire was reaffirmed by the Warsaw Pact nations in May 1980.

All credit goes to the French President at the time, Giscard d'Estaing, for taking the sting out of this idea via a clever move and turning the whole idea into an instrument of western strategy.

The French proposal sent to all 35 CSCE signatory states in May 1978 suggested deciding on significant and verifiable confidence-building measures relating to the whole European continent, including the European part of the Soviet Union, within the context of a disarmament conference in the CSCE framework.

Bonn, the EEC partners and the Nato allies soon realised that this plan provided the opportunity to rectify a serious shortcoming of the 1975 Helsinki accords.

At the time, it was agreed that confidence-building measures such as the announcement of manoeuvres by the Soviet Union only referred to an area 250 kilometres wide along the Soviet Union's western border.

There is similar arrangement as part of the Vienna talks on mutual force reduction in Europe.

It is obvious that such a ruling opens up substantial evasion possibilities to the Soviet Union, modifying the significance of disarmament measures substantially.

This explains why Moscow reacted recalcitrantly to suggestions of extending European arms control dialogue to cover the area stretching to the Urals.

Finally, however, the Soviet Union gave way to international public opinion on this point. In February 1981 Leonid Brezhnev signalled basic approval for such a move, "providing the West extends the field of of confidence-building measures accordingly."

This, however, was the fly in the ointment. It became clear what intentions the Soviet Union had when they started asking for the whole Atlantic Ocean and if possible parts of Canada and the United States to be included. Later on, they said they would settle for "just" half of the Atlantic.

All this was out of the question for the West. Even leaving the problem open until the planned disarmament conference in Stockholm next year, which would have meant endless discussions by the Russians, could not be accepted.

Agreement was finally reached on the wording "the whole of Europe and the adjacent sea territory" (this was defined more precisely in a footnote: "Oceanic areas bordering on Europe").

Here, military activities were to be considered "inasfar as they affect both European security" and also pertain to those activities in Europe for which notification must be given.

Such an agreement is acceptable to the West. For the first time, it has the advantage of greater military transparency via verifiable "confidence-building and security measures" in the whole European part of the Soviet Union.

Of course, following the recent shooting down of the South Korean airliner over Sakhalin, where it became all too clear how afraid the Soviet Union is of espionage, it is reasonable to express doubts as to whether such plans will materialise.

Nonetheless, there has been a paving of the way in a field which the "peace movement" permanently underestimates and in which the Soviet Union has a clear supremacy: conventional armament.

At the start of this year, Foreign Minister Genscher aired ideas on conducting special talks on reducing conventional arms in the whole of Europe — in addition to the regionally limited MBFR negotiations which have been so unsuccessful.

However, this proved too difficult at present. Now, at least, there will be efforts to reduce the risk of a surprise conventional attack.

There is a desirable side effect for the West German government when bearing in mind the expected hot autumn of political discontent: it can point towards the new disarmament dialogue with Moscow.

This dialogue can still continue even if agreement cannot be reached in Geneva on western rearmament.

Bernt Conrad

(Die Welt, 19 September 1983)

Korean jet

Continued from page 1

a different line to the majority in both organisations on questions of Middle East policies, East-West relations and disarmament.

Two objectives underlie the independent, indeed unpredictable, "multidimensional" foreign-policy course pursued by Papandreou.

On the one hand, the Greek head of government hopes to pacify left-wing opposition at home by means of spectacular "anti-western" action, admittedly with success.

On the other, Papandreou is hoping to gain greater Eastern bloc support for his country's "national questions" by means of a pro-Soviet stance on the most important international issues.

However, up to now Papandreou's plans have not worked out. Although Greece has managed to vex its western partners, it has not received the support from Moscow it is hoping for in its conflict with Turkey on Cyprus.

Ronald Meinardus

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 18 September 1983)

Bonn's de… at the United Nat…

Ten years ago, on … 1973, the Federal Rep… many became a member o… Nations.

Joining the UN had mo… bolic value than practical … portance. The political exp… the Germans were modest.

Accordingly, the apprais… ten years in this organisation… the down-to-earthness of … man membership.

Two or three times durin… Bonn pointed they way on c… tical issues.

In May 1978, for exampl… lor Helmut Schmidt … confidence-building measure… tical basis for disarmament … special UN-conference o… ment. This added a new di… the international dialogue o…

On Namibia, Bonn was … five initiators of a UN ind… plan for this former German…

In 1976 the Federal Rep… cated a convention against … terrorism.

It became a member of th… Nations at the same time a… many. Bonn's intention righ… start was to keep inner-Ge… blems out of the UN. Ea… also showed restraint in its … on inner-German topics.

Bonn's attention focussed … tructive discussion with Th… countries on the right of self-… tion, on human rights and … mands by Third World count… improved position in the … economic framework.

For the 40 or so members … German delegation in the U… tions everyday life has mean… work with rigorous attentio… on political and legal proble… the scenes. Rarely have such … hit the headlines.

The sound position of th… Republic of Germany within … work of the United Nations … lined on 21 October 1983 wh… was voted onto the UN Secu… cil for a two-year period.

Another high point for We… ny's international reputatio… election of the former UN-… Rüdiger von Wechmar as Pr… the 35th General Assembly o… ber 16th 1980.

Gerhard M…

(Nordwest Zeitung, 13 Sep…)

Refugee report on Germany strongly rejected

Bonn has rejected a report compiled by the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees which criticised how political asylum applicants in the Federal Republic are treated.

Now the Commissioner, Poul Hartling, a former Danish prime minister, has turned down an invitation to visit Germany.

Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann says he does not want to meet Hartling at this time.

Interior Ministry spokesman Härdtl explained in Bonn that Zimmermann does not regard the report with its comparisons of camp conditions during the Nazi period as a suitable basis for discussion with Hartling.

Zimmermann says the Commissioner should visit the camps and compile a new report.

Härdtl was critical of Hartling. Even after much correspondence Hartling had refused to dissociate himself from the report, which has been written by a colleague.

In fact, Hartling based his suggestions for greater protection for those seeking asylum on the controversial report.

Zimmermann's spokesman also referred to Germany's liberal approach in this field. It was the only country which constitutionally guaranteed rights of asylum.

Talk of compulsory internment or even concentration camps for asylum applicants in West Germany was a blatant defamation of the German system.

As explained later, however, such assertions were not made by the author of the report herself but by the asylum applicants interviewed.

The FDP interior spokesman, Burkhard Hirsch said that it was completely unfounded to lay down conditions for talks with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

Germany should pride itself on its popularity as a country in which many sought to take refuge. This was among other things the result of the unquestioned rule of law in this country, he maintained.

Against the background of the suicide by a Turkish applicant for asylum in Germany, the Federal Minister of Justice, Hans Arnold Engelhard (FDP), it to examine extradition and asylum procedure.

An interministerial work group has been set up with the approval of the Ministry of the Interior and the Foreign Office in Bonn.

Dieter von König

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 September 1983)

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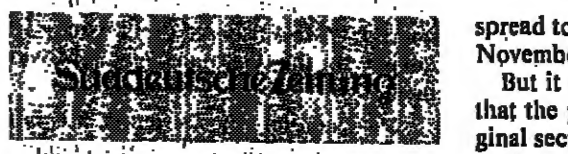
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HOME AFFAIRS

Social Democrat ambivalence on missiles issue has roots in 1979 congress



…ial Democrat attitudes towards …curity policy have their roots in … happened in 1979.

… SPD, headed by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, was in power. But at the … congress that year in Berlin, the …ship had difficulty persuading de…s to follow Schmidt, and agree to …ployment of medium-range missi…

… congress would have rejected the …sal, but two factors saw it …gh.

… was the simultaneous offer to …iate on the issue with the Rus… The second was the hope that …2 (Strategic Arms Limitations …) would be ratified in 1980.

…ptics among the SPD leaders rea… how shaky the party's agreement … issue was.

…ile the Berlin congress was still …ened, a senior SPD politician, … Bahr told this newspaper that the … would return to the issue and the … against it unless, within six months, Salt was ratified and the talks had begun.

Salt was not ratified. The talks did not start within six months. So it is surprising that the SPD did stick by its decision for so long.

This was mainly because it did not want to run the risk of collapsing the Schmidt government.

Schmidt was still in government when the SPD congress in Munich in 1982 described the party's aim as achieving conditions that would make the deployment of the new generation of missiles redundant. Schmidt then backed that formula.

The formula was included in the 1983 campaign platform because the party did not want to be accused of changing course straight after going into Opposition.

The SPD has lost a national election since then and is now restructuring itself. The 1979 conflict is still there, though with one difference. The bold 1979 hope that negotiations would make the deployment of the missiles this autumn unnecessary has waned.

The decision by the Baden-Württemberg SPD to oppose the new missiles is partly due to the state of the Geneva talks but the actual reasons go deeper.

What happened there was that emotions that had been pent up for years suddenly came to the fore. As a result, what happened in Offenburg will spread to other branches of the SPD by November.

But it is both right and wrong to say that the party is departing from its original security policy line.

The truth is that it is putting political demands in the place of compromise formulas. Foremost of these demands is that Germany reject the deployment of Pershing II missiles.

In other words, the party now no longer concentrates its energy on tactical negotiations but on the fundamental aim.

Those who believe that the deployment is necessary will condemn this attitude; and those who accuse the SPD of relieving Moscow of some of the pressure at the bargaining table have logic on their side, although they overestimate the role of the Opposition and its influence on the superpowers.

Those who conclude from this that there is deep dissension between government and opposition on Europe's military security and the consequences of the deployment are right.

It is a dissension that despite the compromises over the years, is due among SPD ranks to their mistrust of the motives of the American Administration and the realisation that neither the old nor the new government in Bonn could act absolutely independently on the issue.

Even Schmidt had a hard time coping with this mistrust when he was in government. He had to promise his party that he would be the first to sound the alarm if it turned out that America was not quite earnest in its negotiations.

The basic question about the future of European security remains unanswered.

This question at the Geneva talks boils down to a dispute about whether the deployment of Pershing 2 missiles would result in more or in less security.

If the talks result in a compromise without Pershing 2s, the German opposition won't be able to oppose the rest of the world, especially in view of the fact that its ultimate aim is to keep the superpowers talking.

If the Geneva talks break down, the question as to the guilty party will play a major role.

It is probably with this in mind that Schmidt is to be the main speaker at the special party congress.

He would then have to answer his own question as to whether Washington has really "made an all-out effort" to arrive at a compromise in Geneva.

Martin W. Süskind

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14 September 1983)

Rank-and-file rebellion over policies

…ery day the Social Democrats are …etting closer to the peace move…'s views on the issue of missiles de…ment.

… the party leadership will not … it for tactical reasons. A special …al party congress has been called … November. But that won't be …gh.

…e official line is that the party is …ng for the outcome of the Geneva … before deciding what to do next.

…t, in fact, this line is being rejected … rank and file.

…ould be unfair and indeed unreasonable to blame all this on weak leader… by Opposition leader Hans-Jochen …l.

…e has described his party's position … in an outside the Bundestag as … open pending the outcome of the …va talks.

… can fall back on the resolution …ted at the last national party con… which says as much.

…t he is naturally aware of the fact … public opinion is steadily driving …rty towards rejection.

…s possible that SPD unity can only …stored by a sweeping rejection of …oyment.

…dorsement, regardless of the out… of the talks, would split the party,

…is for this reason that the SPD lea…ship now contents itself with point… to former party congress decisions …out issuing recommendations for … future,

…t party resolutions can be nullified … replaced by new voting. In this re… — and rightly so — party congres… have sovereign rights. But how "so…eign" the SPD will be in the autumn …ains to be seen.

Karl-Hugo Pruys

(Bremer Nachrichten, 14 September 1983)

Lebanon

Continued from page 1

of how fragile such truces have been in the past.

The next step towards pacification in Lebanon would be to initiate a national dialogue in which all parties involved in the war take part.

Just a few weeks ago the willingness to make such a move as there; now, however, the positions have hardened.

During his first year in office President Amin Gemayel has not been very successful. It has become more and more clear that he is not the symbol of integration who could run a workable government of national unity.

If he does not step up his efforts to seek a speedy and serious dialogue with all groups, he will soon lose the support of both the Saudis and the Americans.

Heinz Mörsberger

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 September 1983)

SPD likely to reject deployment

The signs are that the SPD will reject the deployment in Germany of the new generation of medium range US missiles.

State and district party congresses over the next few weeks will help decide what the party's line will be.

However, a survey by the newsagency dpa says it is still wide open how the voting will go at the special national congress in mid-November.

It is possible that a compromise formula will be hammered out. Some of the state party organisations seem to be favouring an extension of the Geneva talks if no agreement is reached,

Resolutions against the deployment have already been adopted by the Baden-Württemberg, Schleswig-Holstein, Bremen and Saarland branches.

There are indication that North Rhine-Westphalia, the state that has the largest SPD and which will provide more than a quarter of the 400 delegates to the national congress, will also reject deployment. The trend in Hesse South is similar.

Following the decision of the Baden-Württemberg SPD, the SPD national executive has said that the party's final position will depend on what happens at the Geneva talks.

Former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt criticised the Baden-Württemberg decision, saying that this had relieved Moscow of some of the pressure at Geneva.

A rundown of the positions in the individual state parties:

Schleswig-Holstein (15 delegates to the national congress): rejection of deployment, adopted in 1981, will be re-affirmed at the state congress this month. This had already been announced by the state party leader, Günther Jansen. He said that his party wanted no rival to its "number one position as a rejector." He said that it was the first to reject the deployment.

Hamburg (11): the state executive committee has drafted a motion for state this month's state congress demanding a 150-kilometre nuclear-free zone in Europe, as proposed by Sweden's Prime Minister Olof Palme. The left wing is bound to demand a clear rejection of the deployment. But it is still open how the majority will vote.

Bremen (6): Deployment was clearly rejected in May.

Berlin (13): Observers think that the majorities at the state conference will be less clear-cut than in Baden-Württemberg. In all likelihood Berlin will favour follow-up negotiations in case of a breakdown in Geneva.

Lower Saxony (49): The four Lower Saxony district branches have not yet arrived at a uniform decision. No motion on the deployment issue has as yet been drafted for the congress in October. The strongest chapter, Hanover (24 delegates), is likely to reject the deployment.

North Rhine-Westphalia (120): The nation's strongest chapter, Western Westphalia (59 delegates), will vote on the deployment issue on 8 October. The excecutive committee has already clearly rejected deployment. The Rhine-Centre chapter (21) rejected the deployment without ifs and buts in May. The other two chapters will decide next month's. The outcome is still open.

Hesse (58): Hesse-South (38) is likely to reject at its 8 October meeting. A motion to that effect by the branch executive committee says that "the US is openly striving for military supremacy and the risk-free capability of dealing the first strike." Hesse-North (20) plans no congress. This chapter has endorsed the deployment so far.

Baden-Württemberg (29): The deployment was clearly rejected at the Offenburg meeting.

Bavaria (54): A decision will be made at the congress on October 8. There is a likelihood that the party will vote for continued negotiations and a postponement of the deployment should the Geneva talks fail.

Rhineland-Palatinate (30): Different motions will be put before the three district party congresses in September. The decision by the state party congress on 1 October is still wide open.

The Saar (15): The deployment was clearly rejected inthe autumn of 1981. This is likely to be reaffirmed at the state congress next month. *dpa*

(Kieler Nachrichten, 14 September 1983)

Peace movement divided over choice of anti-deployment strategy

The peace movement is split. One camp wants action to lead to immediate results while the other wants to win over public opinion with the aim of getting even more people in human chains, strikes and blockades.

What this boils down to is the attempt to provoke the state into hasty action on the one hand and, on the other to create a credibility crisis through indirect pressure from a mass movement.

The Greens had invited a group of American pacifists to come to Mutlangen; and before long the Americans urged "stronger action."

Mandy Carter, for 16 years a committed negro member of the War Resisters' League, said tersely: "This is no blockade. It's a wake."

The former Pentagon expert Daniel Ellsberg criticised the essentially symbolic siege, saying: "This isn't the fall of 1982 but the fall of 1983."

He emphasised the pressure of time, adding moral pressure as well by pointing to the peace fasters in Bonn: "Are they suicides? Aren't we all suicides unless we do more?

The apocalyptic words had their effect — and not only on young people.

Said Andreas Buro, who has been a part of the Movement from the very beginning: "The Bonn fasters keep giving me pangs of conscience."

But what to do to cap their actions?

The American participants in the demonstration wanted to cut the barbed *wire fence surrounding the arms depot and demonstratively invade the* installation, and there can be no doubt that they were prepared to risk more than just arrest.

One of the protestors in Mutlangen was Father Philip Berrigan, a member of the Plowshare Eight group, the eight courageous peace fighters who three years ago destroyed several nuclear warheads at the American King of Prussia Technology Centre.

The only thing that prevented Ellsberg and Father Berrigan from escalating the demonstration was TV Pastor Jörg Zink's threat that he would distance himself.

But the moderation won't be for long. If they don't climb the fence in Mutlangen, they will climb it elsewhere. Perhaps at the nearby Pershing base Waldheide near Heilbronn or in Neu-Ulm.

The impression of peacefulness at Mutlangen was deceptive. Frustration spread rapidly under the blazing sun by day and rain by night.

They didn't expect that they would literally be left sitting after four weeks of rehearsing non-violent resistance.

It was this frustration that made the participants receptive to the militants among them.

It was Herwig Jantschik, a 23-year-old conscientious objector, who put into words what many had on their minds: "For me, civil disobedience means taking even more suffering upon myself."

Even such level-headed people as the Berlin Professor Peter Grottian concluded on the second day that "blockade as a form of action is obsolete."

Many asked themselves what form the next phase of escalation should take.

Those who spent day and night in the "Peace Camp" experienced how the pacification agreed upon between the police and the organisers turned into the opposite that called for a more effective blockade.

Let there be no mistake: nobody wanted any violence; but there were some who hoped to get arrested. It took some doing to prevent one woman from setting herself alight.

To provide a safety valve for the pent-up emotions, Klaus Vack suggested a demonstration in Schwäbisch Gmünd and the encirclement of the Bismarck Barracks where — by no coincidence — his friends Andreas Buro and the spokesman of the "Peace Manifesto Group", Professor Wolf-Dieter Narr, so ably directed the traffic that not a single car or pedestrian was inconvenienced.

But the militant Greens and the Americans, the young and impatient among the participants, wanted stronger action.

Said Ellsberg: "A longer action is a stronger action."

One of the "Alpguerilla" group seconded him, saying: "The GIs have removed the rockets, now we must prevent them from bringing them back again."

A permanent blockade? For Erhard Eppler (SPD), such a prospect was so disquieting as to prompt the usually conciliatory man to shout at Ellsberg angrily: "Mr Ellsberg, don't you give advice to the German Peace Movement."

It was not only the German Christian raised in the spirit of "love thy enemy" who confronted the Vietnam was veteran in the hour-long dispute. This was also a confrontation between convincing mediators and spontaneous activists.

Ellsberg saw the visible success of the Mutlangen action in jeopardy and felt that putting his own life on the line could prevent the deployment.

It is therefore not surprising that he made himself the spokesman of the Bonn fasters and wrote a letter to the Russian leader Yuri Andropov, saying that if Andropov agreed to unilaterally stop nuclear tests for two months and to scrap one SS-20 missile a month, thus starting a disarmament spiral, the Bonn fasters would break off their action.

For Eppler, on the other hand, it was the invisible success that was in jeopardy. His idea is not to put off the "three-quarters of the people who silently oppose the deployment."

Notwithstanding his great respect for the fasters, he said, "I see my function differently."

Said Eppler to Ellsberg: "[illegible] different strategies."

What it all boils down to [illegible] that is as old as it is insolub[illegible] flict that has existed throug[illegible] and that arises in every re[illegible] continue or to consolida[illegible] been achieved?

Commented Klaus Vack, [illegible] tary of the Socialist Bureau[illegible] old socialist terminology: "[illegible] tually faced with the questio[illegible] for the spearhead may forg[illegible] the grassroots."

The way out of the dil[illegible] through coincidence. Even [illegible] ciding on whether to contin[illegible] langen blockade, there was [illegible] Bitburg (where there were [illegible] The sit-in there was cleared by [illegible] co although the Bitburg dem[illegible] did exactly the same as thei[illegible] parts in Mutlangen.

Those urging stronger a[illegible] berg, Father Berrigan, the [illegible] Montgomery, the Green MPs [illegible] tian and Kelly and Roland [illegible] East German who was stripp[illegible] citizenship) rushed to the [illegible] to assist the "nameless" in the [illegible] tration.

One of the posters they c[illegible] "Two Democracies": In [illegible] they were permitted to sit a[illegible] Bitburg police dogs were [illegible] down their necks.

A split in the Movement wa[illegible] ed because everybody foun[illegible] confirmed in his own way, [illegible] just a postponement.

Michael S[illegible]

(Die Zeit, 9 Sep[illegible])

Sit-in heralds imminent hot autumn

Peace sit-ins have been held in Mutlangen and Bitburg. They are likely to start a process of clarification.

The peace movement is in conflicting over how to shape its strategy to prevent the deployment of new medium range missiles.

Most politicians, especially those who do not agree with the peace movement's aims, will probably treat Mutlangen and Bitburg as peaceful demonstrations without giving them another thought. But they will join the debate the moment such judicial questions as "legal" or "violent" are raised.

There is nothing new about this. It happened during the disputes over the nuclear power stations in Wyhl and Brokdorf.

There, the demonstrators went beyond the limits of legality.

How dangerous is nuclear power if people go to such lengths to oppose it? This was one of the questions raised in the ensuing debate. As it turned out in the end, Brokdorf dampened the nuclear power euphoria.

The peace movement was out to achieve something similar regarding the deployment of nuclear missiles. The idea was to provoke the public and the politicians into thinking and acting and, ideally, into stopping the deployment.

The peace movement lays claim to being the sole fighter for survival. It does not want to be likened to the older generation that permitted a Hitler to come to power.

Rev. Heinrich Albertz put it this way: "This time, we won't keep quiet — not this time."

This means embarking on the difficult road resulting from the "duty to resist" — a course of action many citizens find difficult to condone and many politicians easy to condemn.

Conventional demonstrations, peace movement followers say, are no longer enough to exert sufficient pressure on those in power.

The result is no end of slogans and intricate legal points.

There is, for instance, the fact that the two-track Nato decision is rooted in clear majority votes in all established parties in this country. There is therefore no need in constitutional terms for the Bundestag to deal with this weighty decision again.

Another frequently raised question in peace movement circles is whether there can be forms of protest that are not legal but legitimate.

A case in point is the trade union appeal to all working people to down tools on 5 October in a demonstration for peace.

Only the employers and some conservative politicians have pointed out that this would be an illegal "political strike." The employers have the law on their side; but a similar five-minute demonstration was held to commemorate the assassinated industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer.

What matters is the issue of violence. The peace movement has stressed the non-violent nature of its demonstrations time and again. They stuck to this principle in Mutlangen and Bitburg despite the fact that many conservative politicians depict their blockade of the American military installation as "violence" (coercion).

Now there are some voices, especially in the Greens camp, that make it doubtful whether this peacefulness will prevail in the forthcoming "hot autumn."

Referring to the disappointing outcome of the Mutlangen sit-in, [illegible] ver police tactics ensured tha[illegible] kade did not really block [illegible] where the many VIPs who [illegible] sit-in prevented its clearing [illegible] ce, the national manager of th[illegible] suggested that the protest[illegible] "have crossed the fence."

Since the Mutlangen action [illegible] fectual, he announced that [illegible] be other such actions and tha[illegible] litant tactics would be intro[illegible] which small groups would "[illegible] strategy of escalation."

His choice of words was [illegible] make it difficult for him to [illegible] he intends to reconcile such a [illegible] action with the principle of [illegible] ce.

Such verbal radicalism [illegible] both the peace movement [illegible] public at large insecure. It pro[illegible] ponents with ammunition and [illegible] well attract the very militant [illegible] from which the peace move[illegible] been trying to distance itself.

The anti-nukes can hardly be [illegible] ed in provoking state authority [illegible] and poorly thought out action.

What they should provoke [illegible] the politicians. But that requi[illegible] imaginative tactics.

Non-violent mass protests [illegible] langen and Bitburg could [illegible] those in power to respond to th[illegible] ple's fears over the growing [illegible] nuclear anihilation with more th[illegible] soothing words.

If the peace movement co[illegible] convincingly show the [illegible] exists among the people, the B[illegible] is bound to put the deployme[illegible] back on its agenda.

The willingness or unwilli[illegible] politicians to enter into a [illegible] with the public will ultimately [illegible] hot "hot" the autumn will be.

Herbert F[illegible]

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 13 Sep[illegible])

INDUSTRY

Workforce disillusioned at troubled shipyard



[illegible]cial partnership does not pay." [illegible]his is the bitter lesson the protract[illegible] [illegible]es of the AG Weser shipyard that [illegible] seems doomed have taught the [illegible] (Social Democratic) works coun[illegible] [illegible]airman.

[illegible]e 138-year old yard has had to put [illegible]th a number of "slimming cures" [illegible]e past, in the course of which the [illegible]s council reluctantly agreed to lay-[illegible] on seven different occasions, hop-[illegible] that this would secure the yard's fu[illegible]

[illegible]adually, the work force was reduc[illegible] [illegible]om 6,000 to its present payroll of [illegible]

[illegible] did no good. Granted, there is a [illegible] discussion going on in Bremen [illegible] behind the scenes and in public. [illegible]eover, the forthcoming elections in [illegible] city-state have put the shipyard tra-[illegible] into the forefront of party political [illegible]ring. But regardless whether the [illegible] can be saved or not, there will be [illegible]ive lay-offs unless Bonn changes [illegible] shipyard policy.

[illegible]he current prescription for a cure is [illegible] major merger operation that would in-[illegible]e the Bremen Vulkan yard (employ-[illegible]3,800), the AG Weser (2,000), the [illegible]erhaven AG Weser subsidiary See-[illegible] (2,600) and the Hapag Lloyd yard [illegible]emerhaven (1,300).

[illegible]e idea behind this is to reduce [illegible]building capacities still further. [illegible] all of these companies have alrea-[illegible] cut down considerably and further [illegible]backs would make it impossible for [illegible] to survive individually, it is consi-[illegible] best for them to merge.

[illegible]e reasons for the malaise are ob-[illegible]: Due to the stagnation in world [illegible] in the past ten years there has [illegible] little demand for seagoing vessels, [illegible] what demand there is has to be [illegible] over too many shipyards.

[illegible]e world's shipbuilding capacity [illegible] stands at 20 million GRT while [illegible] is demand for only 14 million [illegible] at best.

[illegible]turally, the yards are fiercely com-[illegible]g for what orders there are. Most [illegible]rnments subsidise their shipbuild-[illegible] industries. As a result, competitors [illegible]ad can undercut German shipbuil-[illegible] by up to 50 per cent.

[illegible]other major factor is the low wage [illegible] in such shipbuilding nations as [illegible]th Korea. That country built up a [illegible] shipyard capacity of four million [illegible] which it now wants to extend to [illegible]illion GRT, regardless.

[illegible] while the Koreans keep expanding [illegible]classical shipbuilding nations have [illegible]duce their capacities.

[illegible]hirty per cent of Europe's capacities [illegible] been shut down since the mid-[illegible] and 40 per cent of the work force [illegible] been laid off. But even for the [illegible]kers who remain there is not enough [illegible] to keep everybody busy. Many of [illegible] orders that went to German yards in [illegible] past were delivered below cost in [illegible]er to preserve jobs.

[illegible] stands to reason that this could not [illegible]tinue indefinitely and that it had to [illegible]ck the financial position of the [illegible]rds at some point. Shipowners and state governments were forced to jump into the breach time and again.

The past few years have seen a considerable improvement in the quality standards and the know-how of cheap non-European yards. This poses a threat to a field in which German yards had a virtual monopoly: the construction of sophisticated special purpose vessels.

The cries for help that now come from the medium sized yards that had been doing well in this specialised field are a warning signal that should be taken seriously.

There can be no doubt that the public sector in general and Bonn in particular must jump into the beach if Germany is to continue having a shipbuilding industry to reckon with.

What is needed is an about-turn in policies — but in exactly the opposite direction from the policy pursued by the present government.

Nobody can seriously believe that a big yard resulting from the merger will be viable without government support.

In April, the prime ministers of the coastal states drafted a list of demands that included additional assistance measures, among them subsidies for orders from abroad.

But even if these subsidies were to materialise, it would still be necessary to lay off 9,000 people. In any event, Bonn has refused to go along.

The medium sized yards have now also demanded federal assistance, saying that they would otherwise have to lay off 6,000 people.

The situation is disastrous. State coffers are empty (Bremen alone having pumped DM200m into the bottomless pit) and the jobless rate is alarming (14 per cent in Bremen). Yet Bonn does nothing.

Bonn regards is as its foremost aim to bring about a world-wide reduction of shipbuilding subsidies. That would not cost Bonn a penny but it would also achieve nothing because the chances of success are nil.

Unless Bonn wants to permit the nation's coastal regions to run to seed it will have no choice but to join the subsidies race.

But the coalition government opposes this on grounds of principle and because it is determined to rehabilitate its financial position by reducing the deficit as much as possible.

There are plausible reasons for this. but one of the possible approaches would be to keep the yards busy with future-oriented projects unrelated to shipbuilding.

They could build heating plants, filters for power stations, sewerage purification installations or machinery for the recycling of raw materials.

But this would require government interference with economic processes — which is unthinkable for CDU and FDP.

Whatever Bonn does, the public sector will have to foot the bill — be it for an active job-creation policy or be it to pay for additional thousands of jobless yard workers.

One could lament the death of a tradition-rich branch of industry and then revert to business as usual if the laid-off workers could find other jobs.

Shipbuilders' losing fight

German share of world production (in tons)

1956	17.3%
1965	8.8%
1975	7.3%
1982	3.7%

But there is little chance of this — neither in Bremen, nor in Hamburg nor in Kiel, where 4,000 yard workers are about to be laid off. And there is no end in sight.

Speculation some time ago that Daimler-Benz would employ 1,000 laid off Bremen yard workers has meanwhile been denied by the auto makers.

And as to the 440 who are supposed to find work at the Vulkan yard, at least the same number will be laid off.

Even Bonn's recently passed regional promotion programme worth DM80m cannot change anything.

The Bremen Senate will have to match this amount — something that will take a great deal of sacrifice.

Even the firmly envisaged merger of the yards — be it with or without AG Weser — would cost the state at least DM30m, and perhaps even more.

Johannes Christ

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 September 1983)

Shipbuilding men mount a protest

On 12 September, the workers of the ailing Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft AG (HDW) shipyard in Hamburg occupied their yard.

Following a staff meeting after a demonstration through Hamburg's city centre, the 2,000 workers who took part in the demonstration voted in favour of occupying the yard to prevent the layoff of about 2,100 out of a work force of 4,000.

The occupation (the workers stressed that it was not a strike) was intended to back up these demands:

- The stockholders (the federally-owned Salzgitter concern and the state of Schleswig-Holstein) are to meet with representatives of the Bonn government and the state governments of Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein and trade union and works council representatives to discuss the future of the yard (A delegation was sent to Bonn to bring about these talks.)
- The management board is to withdraw its list of people to be laid off, involving 1,354. The list was presented to the works council despite the fact that negotiations were in progress at the time.
- One of the three container ships which HDW is to build for the People's Republic of China to be built in Hamburg rather than in Kiel.

The metalworkers union representative at the yard, Dieter Melzer, had earlier told the staff meeting that the workers had only two rights: the right to work and the right of self-defence. He said that the HDW management board had forced them to defend themselves.

Otto Kock, the workers' representative, told his fellow staff members: "We won't permit them to take the yard away from us; we won't let them throw us out; we'll only let the police carry us away."

Said a Bremen speaker, alluding to the occupation of shipyard by workers: "If you're asked to bring your beds with you, say yes."

"Give a signal and tens of thousands of metalworkers will follow you," the local head of IG Metall, Otto von Steeg, was told.

That day, some 1,500 blue and white collar workers left the staff meeting to march through the city. The demonstration was headed by women who had taken part in a hunger strike the previous week to draw attention to the mass layoffs.

At a subsequent rally, Hamburg Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi and worker representatives accused Bonn of leaving the shipyards in the lurch.

Said IG Metall spokesman Frank Teichmüller: "The HDW affair is teaching us a lesson that applies to the entire coastal region and the nation as a whole."

According to the mayor, Bonn has not yet come up with a blueprint for the crisis. He again accused the HDW management board of having either ignored the city administration's proposals or forwarded them to Kiel.

He said the City of Hamburg was prepared to help out financially if HDW were to build one of the three ships on order from China in Hamburg.

Meanwhile, the Bonn government still refuses to subsidise Germany's shipyards. This transpired in a discussion between Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg, Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff and Lower Saxony's Economic Affairs Minister Birgit Breuel. and Lower Saxony's Economic Affairs Minister Birgit Breuel.

The reasons Bonn gave for the rejection were essentially of a financial nature. But Bonn also fears that the Brussels EC Commission would turn down an assistance programme on legal grounds.

The economic affairs ministers of the four coastal states and Berlin demanded in mid-August that Bonn subsidise export orders at the rate of five per cent or DM600m a year.

According to Hanover government circles, the Bonn ministers concerned were, however, open-minded on supporting the coastal states in the fields of research and development.

Preparations for ministerial talks in late October or early November are to begin soon.

Informed circles say that the economic affairs ministers of the coastal states intend to meet soon to discuss the shipyard problems.

Birgit Breuel urged shipowners not to delay ordering new vessels.

But it is still unknown whether the states intend to launch a rescue programme for the yards.

VWD

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 13 September 1983)



Chemicals industry shows sharp rise in profits

Germany's chemicals industry has gone from slump to boom almost overnight. Shareholders had no sooner received apologies for poor dividends last year than they learned that first-half results this year showed a steep rise in profits.

Hoechst's six-month profit is up 44 per cent, Bayer's up 19 per cent and BASF's 12 per cent.

Chemicals is the third most important economic indicator after construction and cars. So this might mean that the long-awaited upturn is on the way.

Curiously, there have been no cries of joy from Bonn's economic pundits. This is probably because the news arrived during the summer recess.

There is plenty of reason for rejoicing because variations in profit affect more than a single branch of industry.

Last year's profits were bad not only because of the general slump on the markets for plastics, dyes, man-made fibres, fertilisers and general chemicals but also because most of the chemical companies shut down their unprofitable production facilities and the write-offs were reflected in the balance sheets.

This phase is over now, and there is general agreement that last year was the last year of getting rid of dead wood.

Chemicals, Germany's second largest industry, dealt rather silently with a fundamental problem of highly developed industries: obsolescence of products and the emergence of new competitors on world markets.

Like the notoriously crisis-bound industry such as steel, shipbuilding, coalmining and textiles, chemicals was plagued after the 1970s oil crisis by rising costs for labour, energy and raw materials.

Excessive production capacities and undercutting competitors depressed both prices and the general mood in the boardrooms.

But unlike the steelmakers and shipbuilders, the chemical industry did not ask for the state's helping hand but rid itself of unprofitable products and looked for new ones.

The watchword by which the industry lived for a whole decade was: quality instead of quantity.

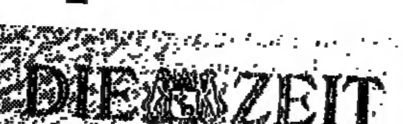
Competition, especially from cheap and simple to make run-of-the-mill products, grew. Supplied by German engineering firms, East Bloc and Far Eastern countries built one plant after another, producing fertilisers, simple man-made fibres and mass plastics in the 1970s.

Now, Opec countries like Kuwait are also crowding the market with cheap chemicals.

Bayer chief executive Herbert Grünewald two years ago said: "The chemicals industry has realised that it cannot compete with important petrochemicals from the Opec countries in the long run. This is why chemicals companies have begun to restructure the range of their products."

Much of this restructuring boiled down to tearing down. Quite a few once highly productive facilities were shut down, among them the Munich-based camera factory of the Bayer subsidiary Agfa and the Hoechst-owned fibre factory in West Berlin.

So were Hoechst's cellophane factory



Kalle in Wiesbaden, Enka's fibre factory in Kassel, Bayer's perlon manufacture in Dormagen and the plastics factories of the Olefin works in Wesseling, a BASF subsidiary.

But chemicals did not leave it at paring down. Its sights were levelled on the future.

At Bayer's annual meeting in July, Grünewald said: "We are deliberately switching to specialised fields where we hope to achieve growth. We know very well that our only security against run-of-the-mill products lies in research."

Despite meagre profits in the recession year 1982, Bayer boosted its research budget by ten per cent to DM1.5bn. Another DM200m is to be added this year.

Bayer's competitors also put added money into research.

The chemical industry was trying to come up with new and technically highly developed products.

Grünewald said about his company's withdrawal from run-of-the-mill products in favour of high-tech goods: "It works."

The move has been facilitated by the wide range of products in the chemical industry. Unlike in the steel and shipbuilding industries, which largely depend on one kind of product, the chemical industry is extremely diversified.

Even if man-made fibres, fertilisers, paints and dyes or plastics stop being profitable, the industry can switch to such money spinners as pharmaceuticals or insecticides and use the money made in those sectors to finance the revamping of the problem products.

Whether this new offensive is actually a way out will be shown by the products that generated nothing but losses inthe past years: man-made fibres, plastics and fertilisers.

There has not been any money to be made in Europe with man-made fibres for years because new technologies have dramatically raised the output of fibre spinning plants and because Europe's textile industry — the main buyers of the spinners — has been virtually eliminated by Far Eastern competitors.

European manufacturers shut down production capacity of about 400,000 tons a year by 1982. Another 500,000 tons worth are still to be shut down.

The losses were staggering. The Wuppertal-based Enka, the leader in this line of business, closed 1975 (the worst year) with a loss of DM500m. Hoechst lost DM400m in its worst year; and Bayer also had nothing but losses with its fibre business, once one of its biggest money spinners.

The various companies cut back radically. Enka shut down 35 per cent of its production capacity at the cost of 15,00 jobs.

One-third of Hoechst's fibre workers had to look for other work.

At one time, man-made fibres accounted for 14 per cent of Hoechst's sales. Now the figure stands at nine per cent. And for Bayer, this ratio dropped from 15 to five per cent.

The shut down plants were by no means old and technol[...] Bayer, for instance, bought [...] the Hülls fibre works th[...] down in 1978 only ten years [...]

Most of the shut-down [...] spinnning plants that mad[...] thread for everyday texiles [...] tyhose, shirts, carpets and [...]

The man-made fibre prod[...] ed The man-made fibr[...] shifted to making thread fo[...] use and high-class textiles.

Enka, for instance, now [...] foil and dialysis membranes.

Its top product is to be the [...] ile strength aramid fibre, Ara[...]

Weight for weight, this [...] has five times the tensile [...] steel and is as suitable for [...] vests as it is as an alternative [...] for clutches.

In 1970, Enka's technical [...] counted for 30 per cent of [...] pared with 54 per cent now.

The trend is similar with En[...] petitors.

Hoechst planning manage[...] Hofmeister: "Our fibre [...] stands for a successful reso[...] tion."

Bayer has been so encoura[...] fibre business as to have [...] acryl fibre plant in Lingen tha[...] viously belonged to its Ameri[...] petitor Monsanto.

"This will strengthen ou[...] position," says section head [...] ken.

The fact that Bayer is [...] fibre production makes it [...] this sector is no longer a loss [...]

Away from everyday goods [...] of custom-made stuff is the [...] in the plastics sector as well.

Like in the case of fibres, [...] cheap imports are spoiling the [...] causing Europe's manufacture[...] DM3bn in this sector last year.

Germany's most important [...] turers in this field, Hoechst an[...] lost DM220m and DM130m [...] ly.

Scrapped

As a result, they scrapped [...] half of their production faci[...] polyethelene, the stuff plastic [...] made from.

About one-quarter of the pro[...] facilities for polystyrole (a pla[...] for packaging and insulation) ha[...] been scrapped. There were fur[...] backs in facilities for PVC, poly[...] ne and ethanol.

Since there is little hope that [...] chers will come up with new, [...] plastics, the chemical industry [...] hopes on increasingly sophistica[...] specialised blends of already [...] plastics.

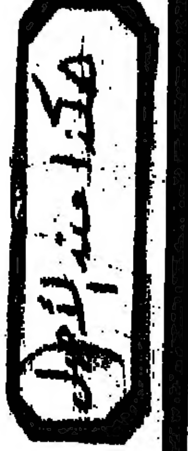
Ever more suitable plastic co[...] nents are now replacing metal [...] automobiles. Plastics are be[...] electrical conductors, fire resist[...] more easily dyed.

The chemicals industry of the [...] will produce less and sales wi[...] slowly but, its executives hope, [...] will improve.

The switchover from quantity [...] lity is unlikely to go off withou[...] blems — some of which are a[...] making themselves felt.

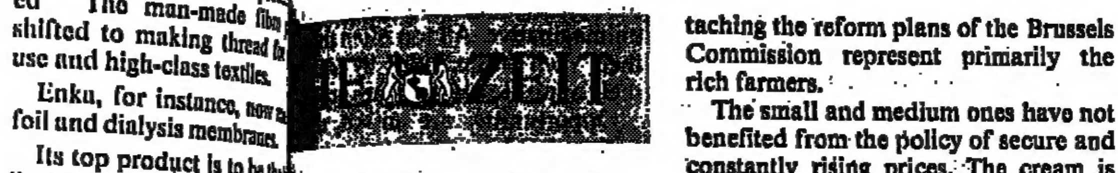
Hopes of profit could be da[...] by the fact that the new high-gra[...] mical products will be very exp[...]

Continued on page 7



THE EEC

Common agricultural sense gets bogged down



[...]thing has come of efforts to reform the EEC's common agricultural policy (CAP).

[...] EEC's financial problems are [...]marily to CAP, which takes two [...] of the budget.

[...]t year, a financial crisis is expected. This makes political action now [...] urgent than ever. But experience [...] that Eurotechnocracy rules over [...]nonsense in Brussels.

[...] whole system is firmly in the grip [...]ocrats who don't want change.

[...] gap between rising expenditures [...] the less steeply rising revenues is [...]ning again.

[...] 1974 to 1979, the cost of the [...] rose at an annual rate of about 23 [...]ent, double the increase in income. [...] a period of stabilisation from [...] to 1982, spending soared by a stag[...]g 30 per cent, and there is every li[...]ood that a third supplementary [...]et will be needed for 1983.

[...]e Community has become a shaky [...] It is the world's largest exporter [...]tter, milk powder and wheat flour. [...] even its sugar exports have risen so [...]ly that it is second only to Cuba.

[...] expansion is promoted by a [...] of pointlessly meshing mechanisms that have long slipped out of control of their inventors: for example the [...] mountains, wine lakes and grain [...]piles.

[...] of this is the consequence of guaranteed prices that encourage Europe's [...] to produce all they can without [...]ing to worry about a buyer.

[...]nd since the world market prices [...] even cover production costs, the [...]luses can only be exported if subsi[...] bring their prices down to world [...]ket levels.

[...] economic boom years, the member [...]s could afford to indulge in this [...]y. But now the general shortage of [...]ey forces them to introduce re[...]ms.

[...]wever, a special council of economic affairs, finance and agriculture mi[...] that met in Brussels late last [...]h achieved no more than a list of [...] for reform by the member states: [...]anteed thresholds, prices policy, [...]ange rate offsets, subsidies, and so [...] the catchwords of the EEC farm [...]ucracy.

[...]ne of the delegations risked as [...] as an attempt at a political solution. The words of the German Agricul[...] Minister, Ignaz Kiechle to the ef[...] that "price reductions must be pre[...]d" demonstrate the whole paucity [...] this centrally planned farm policy [...] has lost all perspective.

[...]e fathers of the European Community never wanted such a fat baby. What [...] wanted was to make agriculture in [...]strialised Europe viable and to [...]e the consumer independent of im[...]ant foodstuffs.

[...]his striving for self-sufficiency help[...]ring the CAP into the world. Now [...]actual beneficiaries of it are the few [...]earners among the farming community.

[...]he farmers organisations that are attaching the reform plans of the Brussels Commission represent primarily the rich farmers.

The small and medium ones have not benefited from the policy of secure and constantly rising prices. The cream is skimmed off by farmers operating on an industrial scale.

This has prompted the Socialist Euro-MP Klaus Wettig to raise the provocative question: "Is it justified to use the taxpayer's money to widen the income gap in agriculture still further?"

The fact is that nobody has ever taken the trouble to find out whether the billions that go into the surpluses have actually created or indeed even preserved jobs, as has been maintained time and again.

In 1981, the Brussels Commission urged that the agricultural policy be changed, but this went unheeded.

Stagnating and insome cases declining demand for farm products is indicative of what the future holds in store. At the same time, technological progress has not stopped short of farms and is sure to make for even more surpluses in the future.

"Europe's farmers will have to realise that they will have to accept lower prices and subsidies if their output exceeds a certain threshold or that they will have to bear the cost of selling their produce themselves," the Commission stated a few weeks ago.

Farmers organisations and politicians who are closely linked to them were outraged.

Irish commentators even went so far as to call such a sensible demand "the worst blow since the Republic came into being."

Denmark and the Netherlands are also profiting from the perpetuation of this untenable system. And without their approval Brussels is hamstrung. This makes it obvious what the future holds in store.

Agreement can be reached on details at best, and even then only under pressure from the Community's finance ministers.

There is, however, one bright spot now: when Agricultural Commissioner Poul Dalsager groans "milk is the bugbear," the others don't instantly contradict him.

Like last year, this year's surplus production is likely to rise by 3.5 per cent. This means that the guarantee threshold will be exceeded by at least six per cent. The mere cost of taking these milk surpluses off the market would justify a 12 per cent price hike.

And since this would be an imposition on the consumer, it is the taxpayer who will have to foot the bill. It is also he who will have to pay for 10.5 per cent higher prices aid to dairy farmers in 1982/83 along with their tax relief.

This year, more than DM10bn (about one-fifth of the overall EEC budget) will flow into the pockets of the community of "milking experts" among the farmers.

Yet only the consumption of cheese and yoghurt is rising in the Community; milk consumption has been going down for some time.

About 15 per cent of the Community's dairy products are not sold within the EEC. In fact, many farmers send produce straight to storage.

What is to be done with the 900,000 tons of butter likely to build up in cold storage by the end of this year? And what about the 1.3 million tons of surplus skimmed milk powder?

The drive to provide cheaper butter during Christmas cannot absorb any more of the surplus than it has before.

Yet farmers organisations emphasise that milk provides the main source of income for about two million European farmers. Creamery payments have become something like a monthly payslip.

Surpluses are now so big that they can't be paid for. The EEC Commission therefore advocates a quota system based on the 1981 output. The idea is to discourage creameries from going from one record output to another and the purchase guarantees for milk powder are to be suspended temporarily.

But small farmers whose few dairy cows are still taken to pasture can expect help from Brussels.

Bonn Agriculture Minister Kiechle — usually rather wary of Commission proposals — praised the latest suggestion saying that the German government thinks along similar lines in trying to restrict the production of further surpluses.

EEC farm surpluses
How the mountains have grown

	1 July 1982	1 July 1983
Butter	219000 t	648 000 t
Milk powder	395000 t	889 000 t
Wheat	1,666 Mill. t	[illegible]
Barley	183000 t	821 000 t
Beef	83000 t	300000 t

Still, nobody is thinking of letting the milk production and prices become governed by supply and demand. This would be pointless anyway because the lobby of agriculture ministers and farmers organisations would be bound to prevent the worst from happening.

The true problems therefore went unmentioned in Brussels and at the summit conferences in Stuttgart and Athens, despite the fact that Gaston Thorn, the president of the Commission, called for a new "creative spirit."

Nothing is being done to settle the latest European North-South conflict (between the dairy and grain farmers of the north who are the main beneficiaries of CAP for these products and the olive and wine farmers in the poorer south).

The differences between the living conditions of a Danish pig farmer and a Sicilian wine grower keep growing.

Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg set something in motion when he said that he no longer excluded the possibility of boosting the EEC budget by increasing its one per cent stake in the member nations' VAT.

The agriculture ministers keep their ranks closed. And this hardly creates added scope for new initiatives, like an all-European drive to fight unemployment.

Rudolf Wagner
(Die Zeit, 9 September 1983)

Boom in chemicals industry

Continued from page 6

— perhaps too expensive to stand a chance in the market.

For instance, the world's largest chemicals concern, the American Dupont Corporation, recently had to withdraw its silk fibre Qiana from the market because it was too expensive to sell.

The same reason prompted Bayer to discontinue the development of a boil-proof, non-wrinkling polycarbonate fibre.

There is yet another problem: markets for sophisticated chemical specialties are small and the competition is bound to be much stiffer than with mass products.

Enka, for instance, will have to fight it out with the American giant Dupont when marketing its new aramid fibre. Dupont is already a market leader with its high tensile strength Kevlar fibre.

This makes it not surprising that Dupont and Enka are already involved in a bitter super-fibre patent dispute.

Insiders even go so far as to suspect that it will not be long before there are the same surplus production facilities for the aramid fibre as there used to be for textile fibres.

The starting positions of Germany's chemicals industry in the race into the future are not equally favourable. Bayer and Hoechst are clearly in the lead.

The multinational Bayer Corporation has traditionally been very strong in the development of technical plastics. Moreover, it can fall back on its profitable pharmaceuticals and pesticide sectors.

Hoechst, on the other hand, seems to be cornering the business promise of the future: biotechnology.

The third of the giants, BASF, is bound to have a harder time switching from mass products to specialties.

When oil prices exploded in the 1970s, the company decided to swim against the stream and concentrate on the raw material petroleum.

Last year, when oil prices started declining, BASF lost DM300m in its refinery business.

There were also losses in the fertiliser business, the third problem area after fibres and plastics.

BASF now seeks its salvation in the profitable business with information systems, especially audio and video tapes.

It is obvious that the changes in the chemicals industry cost jobs. The industry's payroll dwindled from 602,000 in 1974 to 560,000 last year.

But this does not fully reflect the employment changes. People are constantly losing their jobs in the chemical factories and finding new ones in other plants.

Hoechst alone achieved a turnover of 3,500 people in this way.

All in all, the revamped chemical industry with its specialised products will not create more jobs.

Hoechst personnel manager Richard Gehrunger: "We have learned to engage in a cautious personnel policy. Things won't be as they used to be."

Wolfgang Gehrmann
(Die Zeit, 9 September 1983)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Redoubled efforts to control arms build up the only path open

There is no reason to gloat over the fact that Johanna Jordan has decided to end her fast for peace in Bonn after 40 days.

The reaction should be one of relief and respect. She realised that peace cannot be forced into existence. It needs living and not dead martyrs if it is to be preserved and shaped.

Many people were moved by the action taken by the Bonn fasters.

Yet the underlying courage of despair feeds on the thoughtlessness of many politicians and media in the Federal Republic of Germany when they refer to the arms race. To hear them speak you would think that a holocaust is just round the corner.

It is therefore hardly surprising that individual people decide to do something to avoid disaster and doom. Suicide in this atmosphere seems like an anticipation of an inevitable Armageddon.

As one of the fasters Andrea Eulokovich put it: "We've only got one or two years left to live anyway."

This is not correct. We are not standing on the edge of a precipice. To believe that means a rejection of politics.

For politics is all about giving answers which are practicable.

Politicians are not prophets from the Old Testament. Their worst mistake would be to conjure up disaster and then fail to provide realistic solutions to the problems facing mankind.

It seems to be common practicé is *Germany at the moment to talk only of* the disaster to come and pass this off as politics.

The end of the world is not just around the corner.

Admittedly, it is depressing how we have had to make do with the kind of peace — or to be more accurate substitute for peace — based on the threat of mutual and unlimited destruction.

Yet such a threat is by no means its implementation. The substitute peace in this atomic age has stood the test to time. One reason is the sheer inconceivability of a nuclear war.

How else could we explain the fact that despite the fundamental differences between the political system and moral concepts of East and West, despite the worldwide arms build-up, despite wars and crises in Lebanon, Chad, Afghanistan and Nicaragua, the arrows of atomic war have up to now remained in their quiver?

The prophets of doom must be puzzled at the fact that the shooting down of the South Korean airliner with 61 Americans among the dead has only led to verbal skirmishes.

Before the bomb came along wars broke out for much less serious reasons. Now, however, Washington and Moscow are unanimous: dialogue must go on.

During a recent press conference the Soviet chief of staff Orgakov reacted most indignantly to the question whether the conflict between the major powers could be decided upon by a local commander, as in the case of the shooting down of the Jumbo over Sakhalin:

"It would be completely uncalled-for to draw analogous conclusions".

And President Reagan, whom no-one can accuse of exercising rhetorical restraint, admits in the latest edition of *Time* magazine: "Of course, to begin with you think of retaliation, but that's just impossible."

In fact, he still supports a summit meeting with the leaders of a country which still refers to the killing of 269 people as a justified defence in reaction to a violation of Soviet air space.

Reagan: "If a summit helps our security, it ought to take place."

So alongside all the short-sightedness of armament and counter-armament, alongside all the mistrust and sabre-rattling, the language of reason can still be heard. The atom itself makes it necessary.

This does not mean that the substitute peace of deterrence should remain a long-term basis for security. It cannot.

People realised this long before the peace movement came along, although the demonstrators on the streets of Western Europe and the United States underline the point with greater thrust.

The bomb must be kept under control at all times to make sure that mutual deterrence does not suddenly trigger the actual use of nuclear potential.

However, this is no place for panic-mongering.

Anyone who claims that nuclear war is inevitable — as did Oskar Lafontaine in his book *Angst vor den Freunden* (Fear of our Friends), stating that computers make the decisions and not human beings, just doesn't know what he is talking about.

Marshal Orgakov's outrage is justified. Any decision on nuclear war, whether in America or Russia, is not taken by subordinate military commanders or by computers. The final button will be pressed by the political leaders.

These leaders have learnt from earlier mistakes. Both sides have built-in safeguards to make sure that in case of an emergency only those in political power can decide, not any electronic brains.

The fact that of the 150 computer errors by American anti-aircraft defence listed by Oskar Lafontaine not one has left the President faced by a "nuclear decision" supports the reliability of deterrence rather than its susceptibility.

A group of experts from Harvard University, whose judgement is based on expertise and not on emotionalism, came to the conclusion:

"It would be mistaken to believe that a simple computer error or a nervous commander could bring about a nuclear war. Fortunately such scenarios are extremely improbable, not to say impossible."

However, nobody can rule out technical or human errors. The atomic age is not fool-proof.

For this reason East and West should never sit back and relax and leave everything up to deterrents.

The airliner incident over Sakhalin has underlined what is needed.

One is permanent contact between the leaders of the major powers. A crisis centre could be set up as suggested by the recently deceased Senator Henry Jackson, in which American and Soviet officers are involved. Such a centre may well have prevented the loss of 269 lives.

This close contact should not only be of a technical nature but also political.

George Kennan wrote in 1960: "Total antagonism can only result from the complete lack of effective communication. I therefore question whether the enemy we are always referring to can in fact only be regarded as an enemy." To keep on talking with one another is a strategic requirement.

Fervent efforts aimed at arms control are needed. The world has no option but to try and regulate an arms build-up.

This means hard work always rewarded by immed a fact confirmed by the talks in Vienna on the redu ventional military forces in years without clear results.

It is true that governme too mistrusting, too comp unimaginative. All too ofte their own inflexibility by their opposite numbers ar

Opportunities are missed, failings is a long one.

Against this background tience of the man on the s derstandable; it is also a good

Yet to dismiss the efforts arms, as is often done by t peace movem nt, as a mer hand is not fair.

Critical examination of e armament plan is necessary whether it really is absolut for our security.

The balance of nuclear ter the powers of the need to each procurement by the ot the same way. Otherwise, th would be an end in itself.

The arms manufacturers a tary planners already expect from the atom as it is and hav lessly filled up their arsenals.

It is time that a feeling fo amount is re-established: a fence which has to resort t weapons after the first mili provides no security.

These three necessary mo political judgement and the p termination to carry them out.

Where politics fails, fear the other hand, if there is o disaster politics often finds tied.

Those who prophesy a must provide answers to questions. Seeing as the be and that we cannot undo what done, how can we come to the bomb? A denuclearised G The bomb has no borders and limited wars.

Should we break up our Security cannot be guaranteed the backing of friends.

Should we develop just a co nal defence strategy? Nuclear will still exist.

Should be renounce rea The threat to Western Europe still be there.

All these answers are not p not good enough. Yet anyone shes to be taken seriously must provide answers, regardless stance on rearmament.

Resolutions such as the one Baden-Württemberg SPD duri cent party conference are not

They may create a good at within the Opposition or ma their conscience is clean, but p more than this.

If the security debate is just a tition to see who can paint picture of impending disaster, will not only find it difficult to but lose its credibility.

This was one warning by the in Bonn. The apocalypse is fo vers, not for statesmen.

Agitation for peace is no for peace policies. Politics still chance.

The governments have a duty all they can to use this opp This is no time for empty rhetoric.

Christoph Ber
(Die Zeit, 16 Septe

Missiles deployment: Moscow still hoping West will be hamstrung

The Soviets are finding it easy to take a tough line towards the Americans in the talks of medium-range missiles which have resumed in Geneva.

Backed by propaganda, they are rigidly sticking to their position and waiting for the Americans to make the next move.

Only the SPD has clearly taken a step towards a definite no to Nato rearmament. It looks as if the party's grass roots has more influence on the issue than the party leadership.

Former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is beginning to sound like a voice in the wilderness.

Because of the SPD attitude and the activities by the peace movement, Moscow must be hoping for a situation in which in becomes impossible politically to implement the Nato double-decision.

If the Soviets are in fact holding such hopes, they have obviously not recognised the signs of the times: the firm determination of the West to abide by the decision.

The incomprehensible and rash renunciation of any kind of rearmament by parts of the SPD before the negotiations in Geneva have come to an end supports any illusions the Soviets may have. It does not, however, weaken the West's negotiating position.

During his press conference the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Kornyenko had nothing new to offer.

He spoke of "wishful thinking" by the West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

The tug-of-war will continue about whether to include the French and British systems in negotiations.

Initially, the Soviets made no mention of these missiles. The suggestion came later.

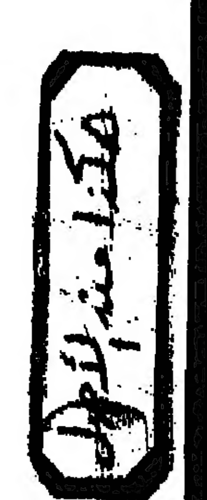
This Soviet swiveling makes things more difficult and still remains a major stumbling-block in Geneva.

There was some new information on the level of Soviet armament from western sources.

More SS20 bases are to be set up and SS21s positioned. This doesn't help matters in Geneva.

Europe will have to wait to see who has the longest staying power. The remarks made by Kornyenko at least indicate that there is no reason to hope that negotiations will come to a result in the near future.

Wolf Ullmann
(Kieler Nachrichten, 15 September 1983)



■ THE MOTOR INDUSTRY

A year for sprinters, show reveals

stomers all over the world", says BMW's sales manager Hans-Erd Schönbeck, "are asking for more erformance than in any period he second world war."

only that, the new demand for horsepower is particularly strong untries which have strict speed li The strange thing is that perform mindedness — the trend towards porty car — was thought to have ut in the mid-sixties.

buyers seemed more interested in aspects. The car had to pull gh a roll-over crash, a side-on head-on and rear-end collisions t passenger injury if it was to a chance on the market.

designers had only just catered ese demand without turning the into a tank when along came the onmental protectionists.

demanded an engine which did uff out poisonous gases.

result: the motors were cleaner hey had less power and soaked up petrol.

oil crisis changed things again: esigners tried to improve fuel eco. They constructed cars with high-mission gears and throttled engi

day sees the counter-reaction: power is back in fashion.

esel-engine motor sales have ped during the last three quarters year, whereas sports versions have ery dates.

chnicians have reacted fast. Not politicians but also car manufactu re expecting a hot autumn.

e sports models will be the uncon ed stars of the 50th International Show in Frankfurt this month.

fa Romeo is launching a four-wheel on of the new middle-market "33" ll, the 4 x 4, a value-for-money al ive to the Audi 80 Quattro.

Arna, a two-door saloon with te, is celebrating its international ere in Frankfurt. It is a co-produc by Nissan and Alfa.

e big sensation from Audi, the VW diary, is a shortened (32 cm) ver of the four-wheel Audi Quattro.

is model, 4.20 metres long, only emergency seats in the rear, weighs t 1,100 kilos and clocks about kmph.

1984 Audi will be taking this l to the racing circuits in the hope ging even more firsts to Ingols It goes from zero to one hundred h in 5 seconds!

has a 2.1-litre five-cylinder engine ront with four valves per cylinder turbo-charger.

Audi Quattro Sport road model 00 hp, in the competition version 450 hp.

Bodywork is partly made of carbon-fibre reinforced synthetic material to save weight. The standard model has leather recaro seats, a central locking system and stereo radio.

An anti-blocking system is available at an additional price — and this despite the fact that the Quattro Sport already costs DM 195,000.

The small car is yet another part of the clever marketing plan developed by the head of Audi, Wolfgang Habbel, hoping to take Audi into the luxurious class.

Ingolstadt are at least guaranteed one superlative: the Quattro Sport is Germany's most expensive car.

After presenting the diesel, Munich-based **BMW** is going for sportiness. It has got the M 635 CSi ready for the Frankfurt Show. It is claimed to be the "world's fatest four-seater series coupé".

The transmission system of an earlier BMW sportscar M-1 has been transplanted into the older (eight years) coupé shape.

The 3.5 litre engine with four valves per cylinder has 286 hp performance and the super BMW is said to top 255 kmph.

However, during trial runs the pre-series model did not match expectations.

The exterior differs from its lower-priced brother coupé as follows: the front skirting is larger and there is a more conspicious rear spoiler. The interior is also more luxurious. The price for this newcomer: DM89,500.

Sportiness is the name of the game for **Daimler Benz**, too. The motor show will show a sports version of the 190 model running under the name 190 E 2.3-16.

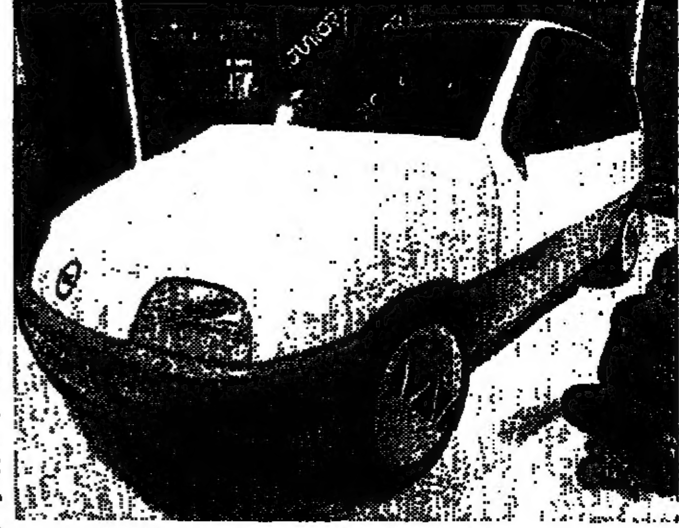
The sports saloon has broad tyres, fat front and rear spoilers and sides which move further down towards floor level.

It has a 2.3 litre engine with 16 valves (no turbocharger), has 185 hp and can do 240 kmph.

Just in time for the show, Daimler-Benz set up a new world record at the Italian racing circuit in Narde: 50,000 kilometres at full throttle averaging 247 kmph.

At a price of DM45,000 the small sports Mercedes is an attractive offer.

The new 190D is better-priced yet slower. Thanks to engine capping this will be the quietest diesel car in the world.



The Opel Junior, still only a prototype.

The two-litre engine only requires seven litres for 100 kilometres, thus moving into the group of the most economical cars. **Fiat** has not yet opted for sportiness. During the show, the head of Fiat, Vittorio Ghidella, will be presenting the Regata, a notchback version of the Ritmo which is to replace the programme's current 131.

The engine range is between 68 and 100 hp. With 513 litre boot space volume the Regata can show its face alongside the VW Jetta and the Ford Orion. The ES version of the Regata has a City-Matic; if the car has to stop at a red traffic light the engine switches off automatically and on again automatically as soon as the foot is put back on the accelerator pedal.

Ford has still not gone for sporty models, although the preparations are under way.

The most important current Ford car is the Orion, a notchback version of the Escort.

The small Ford Fiesta, unchanged since 1976, gets a new more streamlined fron and a more pulled-down bonnet — as competition Fiesta customers who are considering the Opel Corsa.

In addition, the Escort-convertible will have its premiere in Frankfurt.

Opel: Corsa-Sprint is the name of the new version of the mini Opel.

With wing extension and a 1.3 litre engine, the car has 126 hp. The small white car is still in the development stage.

Nissan, better known as Datsun are offering an elegant, harmoniously designed sports coupé, the Silvia.

The customer can choose between a two-litre 16—valve engine with 145 hp or a 1.8-litre turbo engine with 137 hp. The four-seater can then reach a speed of 205 kmph.

The Silvia will start selling in April 1984, and will definitely be tough competition for the Toyota Celica.

Sportscar specialists **Porsche** are the most affected by the new sporty trend. Porsche boss Peter Schutz is well equipped for the new challange.

In Frankfurt he will be showing a completely renovated 911: as "Carrera". In the rear section there is a new 3.2-litre engine, which has a performance of 231 hp and can hit 245 kmph.

The letters "SC" at the back are replaced by "Carrera".

The new car has a six per cent improvement in fuel economy (compared to the previous model) and is equipped with an indicator for brake wear.

The rear wing from the turbo is to be recommended by the Porsche salesmen to its Carrera customers.

Porsche also have the — slightly revised — 928 S in Frankfurt. Due to the new Bosch motronic ignition, the 928 S does 310 hp, enabling a top speed of 260 kmph.

For the first time Porsche will also be providing an anti-blocking system — as an extra.

Volkswagen has also recognised the sign of the times. Its Scirocco will be getting a lavish 1.8-litre 136 hp engine *for the Motor Show, allowing speeds of* up to 210 kmph for the small coupé.

More important for the VW manufacturers is the fate of the new Golf II.

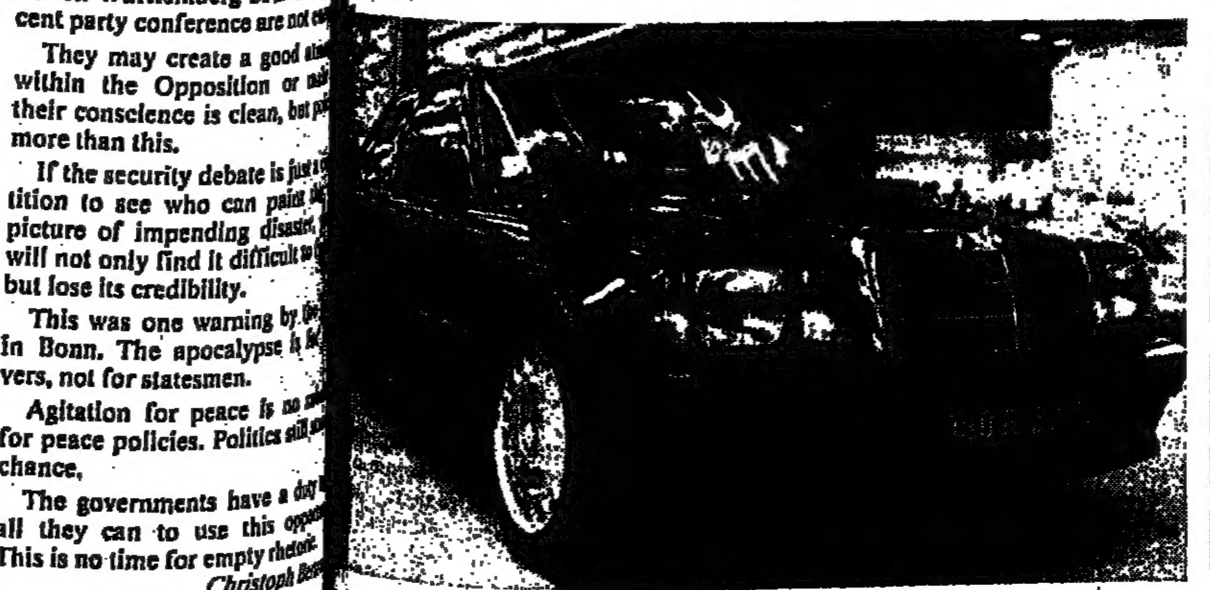
Although at first glance it looks exactly the same as its predecessor, it is in fact a completely new car.

The new Golf has more room inside and better motoring qualities. An interesting aspect is that the new Golf looks like the "Lancia Delta" — particularly in the rear-light section.

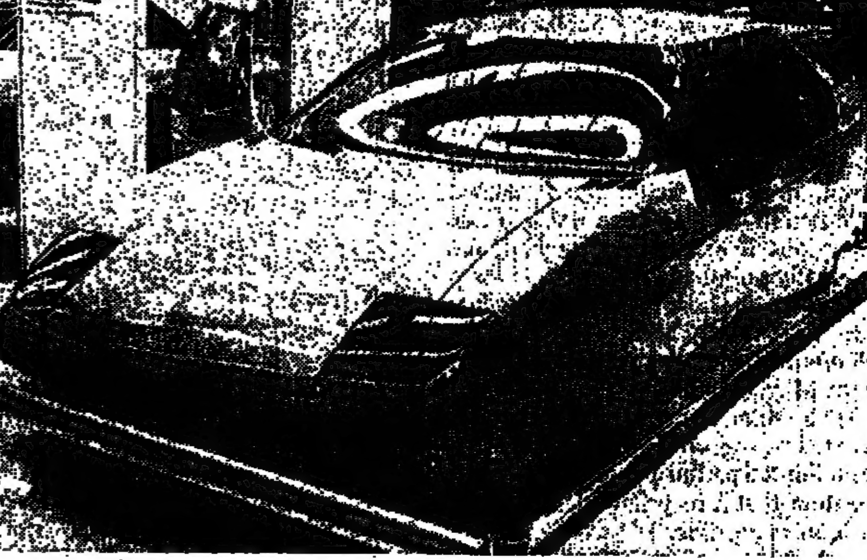
This is no coincidence. Well over a decade ago, the original design for the Golf was provided by the Italian star designer Giorgetto Giugiaro.

German VW re-modelled his design Giugiaro, angry at this move, then sold his — slightly improved — design to Lancia.

Hanns-Peter Rosellen
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 9 September 1983)



Mercedes Benz' 190 E 2.3-16



Ford's experimental car (Photos: Sven Simon dpa)

Many parts of the Baltic Sea will be still romantic and picturesque: the Swedish skerries, the steep coasts of Rügen or the chalk cliffs of the Danish island of Mön, not to mention the many beautiful sandy beaches.

However, there are other parts where living organisms find it difficult to survive: the oil-polluted bays and the concrete jungle along much of the coast.

If the seven countries bordering the North Sea do not act fast the days of the Baltic Sea will be numbered.

Fish diseases caused by dumped filth

The Federal Republic of Germany says it plays a leading role in environmental protection.

The great number of laws and decrees issued in this field would appear to confirm this.

However, the dying German forests tell a different tale. They suggest that there is still a long way to go before there can be talk of success in environmental protection.

The sick trees are just one area which underlines failings.

Another is the alarming example of the North Sea. It has been misused for years by its bordering countries, first and foremost by the Federal Republic of Germany, as a huge rubbish dump.

Of course, the water provides a convenient carpet which covers up the filth which has been dumped.

However, German fishermen in the North Sea must foot the bill for the waste which pours out of the sewage pipes from coastal towns and is dumped by so-called *Giftschiffe* (ships of poison).

Up until a few years ago there were only four known fish diseases in the German Bight. Today there are nine.

Twenty two of all the fish species living in the German Bight are regularly affected by illness caused by environmental pollution and 3.7 per cent of the herring larvae from the southern North Sea show skeletal changes.

Although everyone is aware of this, everything goes on as if nothing has happened.

Permission will probably be granted to the titanium dioxide producers Kronos-Titan and Pigment-Chemie to continue dumping over a million tons of *Dünnsäure* in the North Sea until 1992. This toxic substance is 18 per cent sulphuric acid.

The Federal Ministry of Transport responsible for such an approval refers for its justification to the Oslo Convention in which this type of waste disposal is permitted under two conditions: if it is thought necessary by public interest and if on-shore disposal is impossible.

Both exceptions are no longer valid. The public interest argument, which according to the two chemicals companies is the threat to jobs if approval is not given, does not hold. The fishermen who fish in the North Sea will also lose their jobs if their fishing grounds are gradually poisoned.

And an on-shore recycling procedure had long since been developed for *Dünnsäure* with the support of Transport Ministry money.

If a new dumping permission is granted, it can only be hoped that it is for a limited period and is tied to the ultimatum that a recycling plant be built as soon as possible.

Christian Schneider

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 August 1983)

■ **THE ENVIRONMENT**

Baltic Sea threatened by early biological death

The reduction in the once flourishing plant and animal world may mean an alarmingly early biological death.

The sea eagles, at one tome at home here, have disappeared altogether it is claimed that there are only about 200 seals left. About a quarter of 422,000 square kilometres of Baltic Sea is already regarded as biologically dead or at great risk.

The Baltic has been having hard times for about 15,000 years because it is an inland sea.

It was created following the retreat of the glaciers during the last Ice Age and the subsequent ground elevations virtually cut it off from other seas. As a result there are no tides and no regular exchange of water.

The only link to the North Sea is via the Kattegatt between Denmark and Norway. A complete replacement of water by new seawater takes 25 years. The salt content varies in different parts of the Baltic.

The sea has been moving towards a gradual biological death for many years. The countries bordering it (Norway, Sweden, Finland, the USSR, Poland, and both parts of Germany) have been speeding things up during the last few decades. The 125 million people living in the coastal regions use the sea for sailing, military training, transporting tankers, fishing and dumping toxic waste.

Toxic wastes pose a great threat. A Stockholm University authority has pointed out that the balance between the plankton and the benthos, that is between the micro-organisms on the water's surface and those at the bottom of the sea, is in great danger of being upset. An imbalance is to be expected in many parts soon.

But this isn't all. Another great danger is a vast increase in algae, which rob the sea of oxygen, thus gradually killing the fish.

The toxic waste dumped in the sea, such as DDT, mercury and lead, also finds its way into the human body via the fish we eat.

The refuse deposited in the sea by human beings is not the only threat to the future of the sea and its fish.

Industrial fishing methods, which are only interested in quantity, are a danger.

As a member of the Swedish Fishing Authority's research laboratory explained, although the Baltic only covers 0.2 per cent of the world's total sea area it accounts for 1.2 per cent of total fishing.

The fishing rate has increased nine times within only 80 years, currently 900,000 tons are caught each year.

Following an extremely dry summer it is hoped that the first storms expected at the end of September will improve the dramatic situation at least a little.

In the long run, however, the oxygen-rich seawater squeezed into the Baltic from the North Sea by the autumn storms will not provide noticeable relief or improve the quality of the water.

The seven coastal states have only been working together on rescue measures since 1974. An environmental protection convention was drawn up in Helsinki that year

This convention, which was ratified by the Federal Republic of Germany in March 1980, obliges the con[…] meet once a year in Helsinki […] ways of keeping the Baltic […]

Although the different […] in the countries affected […] question the workability of […] mission, there have already […] agreements (albeit mainly […] action to be taken.

There is no exclusively […] socialist way to keep the sea […]

Up until now, there has […] on cleaning oil tankers on the […] They now have to let out […] water into special tanks in the […]

The transport of particul[…] rous goods has to be official[…] ed.

Pessimists regard the com[…] more of a "moral watchdog" […] ything else, pointing out that in […] analysis economic interests ha[…] priority than environmental […] efforts.

Emmanuel […]

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 5 Sep[…])

Acid rain eat[s] concrete aw[ay]

Steel and concrete are extr[…] sitive to pollution, say ex[…] the Rhineland landscape as[…] which regularly inspects the […] road bridges.

They say the concrete in […] ges is being attacked by acid r[…]

No-one thought about the […] blems when the bridges w[…] Today, many concrete sup[…] crumbling, cables becoming […] damage to road surfaces is app[…]

Subsidence and salt water […] causes of damage.

The landscape association […] DM55m a year to have damag[…] ed. Bridge maintenance costs h[…] than doubled over the past tw[…]

(Rheinische Post, 8 Sep[…])

Has man begun to engineer his own doom?

Earth's history is punctuated with cases of animals and plants becoming extinct.

The disappearance of such species — once a part of a biological process — has been caused more and more often in Earth's recent history by man himself.

Is humanity itself now facing its own limits, is it bringing about its own extinction?

This is a question of growing concern to scientists and far-sighted politicians.

It is also the central topic of an international congress entitled "Higher Education by the Year 2000" at the University of Frankfurt. Three hundred delegates from 40 countries attended.

University lecturers, politicians and government officials are seeking answers to the question of how higher education can contribute towards solving social problems.

The congress is organised by the European Society for Higher Educational Research. The head of the organisation is a Frankfurt university professor, Ulrich Peter Ritter.

The congress is supported by the universities of Frankfurt and Tokyo, the OECD, Unesco, the German Research Association and the city of Frankfurt.

The aim of the congress is to make higher education institutions more aware of their social commitments.

The major global ecological problems should play a greater part in university research and teaching, says Professor Ritter, otherwise the universities will degenerate into politically and socially second-rate institutions.

"I believe that this congress is a most unusual event, with university lecturers, politicians, administrative personnel and practical experts exchanging ideas on the future.

At the moment we are so taken up with everyday problems and crisis management that we often fail to ask ourselves where the journey will lead."

As part of this congress, a Unesco exhibition entitled *Der Mensch und die Biosphere* (Man and his Biosphere) was opened in Frankfurt's Senckenberg Natural History Museum: 80 countries and over 1,000 scientists took part in Unesco's action programme.

Attention focussed among other things on technological problems, problems of fertilisation and of environmental pollution.

German experts concentrated on the influence of man on tropical and subtropical forests, the spreading of the desert and the problems facing the Alps.

Another research topic was the environmental strain on the Lowe[…] gion. Air pollution was measu[…] organisms such as lichen, […] tree-bark.

Professor Willi Ziegler, di[…] the Senckenberg museum, poi[…] that at present the extinction ra[…] imals is four times greater tha[…] of the past.

By the year 2000, he claimed, […] tinction rate caused by huma[…] sion will probably be 40 to 4[…] greater than today.

Professor Ziegler said: "The[…] always been cases of mass ext[…] nature, the dinosaur for exam[…] all this is nothing compared to […] happening today."

The exhibition in the Senck[…] museum is open until the end […] cember.

A large number of ecologica[…] cioculturaI factors will be pres[…] referring to examples and projec[…] pleted during the past ten years.

Thirty six posters illustrate […] the important problems facing […] mental planning, the supply of ra[…] terials and the relationship be[…] man and his environment.

There are five central topics: th[…] grated approach to enviro[…] planning, rain forest, fringe are[…] zones, mountainous regions, […] areas and urbanisation, and natu[…] servation.

Albert Be[…]

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 7 Septe[…])

[T]HE CINEMA

New forms between the rigid cliches

[Al]exander Kluge's latest film *Die Macht der Gefühle* (The Power of [Feel]ings), which was premiered during [the] International Film Festival in Veni[ce, t]akes a closer look at how to come [to a h]appy end without deceiving your[self].

[Wh]ereas operas tend to have tragic [ending]s, films usually go for the happy [end]. Does this mean that films are more [posi]tive?

[Th]e title of Kluge's film is misleading [a]s Kluge points out, the film deals [with] how these feelings are "organised, [how] they organise themselves, by chan[ce,] outside influences, murder and [...]

[Dur]ing the 20th century cinema has [beco]me a public centre for emotions, [the] tragic side of life yielding to the [happ]y finale. The present trend is to [...]

[Th]e spirit of the 19th century was to [...] and reveal the truth, which ex[...] is the deadly earnest of many opera [pro]ductions.

[D]ie Macht der Gefühle takes up the [the]me of Kluge's first film *Abschied [von] Gestern* (Goodbye to Yesterday) [pro]duced in 1965. Kluge is stock-tak[ing,] seeking evidence, providing a vi[...] analysis.

[H]e is one of the few directors who successfully translate theory into [pict]ures, always finding new forms bet[wee]n the rigid cinema clichés.

[T]he film unfolds in fragments, in [st]age style. Some of the sequences [are r]ealistic, related to today, political. [In b]etween we see old film clips.

[On] different levels of action he shows [th]e destiny of individuals. Although [eac]h episode is a self-contained unit, [var]iations of any one theme can recur.

One main theme runs through the [who]le film: the destructive power of [...]: "The individual feeling is not [...]ing — all feelings together pursue a [di]sirous course as if they were blind."

[K]luge believes that some time dur[ing] the 12th century in Germany fee[ling]s were banished by means of with[...]s and terror. Yet the film shows that [emo]tions have somehow taken their re[...]ge.

[E]ach sequence of the film reveals [wha]t has happened to mankind; reason [has] forged an alliance with society, [whe]re everything has its price.

[A]nd so, despite the optimism ex[press]ed repeatedly in the film that eve[ryth]ing can be prevented, one line in [the] film says it all: "We cannot give in [...]n".

[T]he power of feelings examined by [Klu]ge's film is also dealt with in the [Ger]man-French co-production *Eine [Lieb]e in Deutschland* (A Love in Ger[many]), produced by the Polish director [And]rei Wajda, and based on the novel [of t]he same name by Rolf Hochhuth. [The] film is also competing in the Inter[nat]ional Film Festival in Venice.

[H]anna Schygulla, Piotr Lysak, Armin [Mü]ller-Stahl and Marie Christine Bar[rau]lt play the main parts.

[T]he film's subject-matter is really [idea]l for Wajda: there are many layers [of] entanglements which are so charac[teri]stic of his films. A political situation [and] a private relationship, reflecting, [des]cribing and deciphering one an[oth]er.

[T]he romantic melancholy, the cult of hopelessness which has emerged in his films and has so often been criticised, is also there. Yet the film is lacking in suspense and its own aesthetic appeal.

A brief rundown of the film's content: Germany, 1941, Brombach, a small town near the Swiss border. A German woman falls in love with a Polish prisoner.

According to the Nazi laws, to love a German woman means certain death for the Pole Stanislav.

Although both lovers try to hide their feelings to begin with, they are so powerful that they break out into the open. Stanislav's death is preprogrammed. Stanislav is hanged whilst Pauline is sent to prison.

Everyone in the small town hates the two lover. Although they do so for different reasons; the symptoms are the same, all rooted in fascism.

The story is told in the form of a flashback. In a kind of interview witnesses are asked about the past.

Yet they dislike being questioned, they want to forget the past. Each one of them is guilty, yet none of them feel guilt.

Wajda had to lower his sights when producing this film and although the film is 120 minutes long as it is the lines spoken haven't really got time to sink in.

Wajda has set a deceptive harmony against the tragedy of the film — 'radiant colours, blooming flowers, glorious sunshine; the décor of peacefulness as the background for a crime.

The scenery has changed, has been renovated and modernised, yet the actors have not changed. To them an order is still an order, laws are still laws.

Hanna Schygulla is rather a questionable choice to play the part of Pauline. Her sensuality seems too well-mannered.

It is only after she is sent to prison that she develops a convincing strength of character, a determination.

She draws her strength from the totality of her love, the power of her feelings.

She regrets nothing and is the only person in the whole town who accepts responsibility for what she has done.

Annette Ascher

(Mannheimer Morgen, 10 September 1983)

Knautsch-Betty (played by Suzanne von Borsody) at the border in 'Die Macht der Gefühle' (Photo: Futura Film)



Hanna Schygulla and Piotr Lysak ... playing with fire in 'Eine Liebe in Deutschland.' (Photo: Scotia)

Festival shows that children's films can be top quality

The Children's Film Festival taking place in Frankfurt presents a welcome alternative to the poor selection or children's films usually shown by the "established" cinemas.

The festival shows just how varied children's films can be: 13 new productions from 12 countries were chosen (Holland, Romania, China, Finland, Upper Volta, Australia, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, the Philippines, Italy, USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany).

Many focus on the clash between different cultures, on the loss of tradition, on fears and on dreams.

The Philippines film, *Turumba*, makes a stand against western influences on life in the Philippines. Kadu lives with his family in Pakil near Manila.

His family earns a living by making papier-maché figures, which they sell on the edge of the road during the annual processions.

This central theme is accompanied by shots showing the most important areas of culture and everyday life in the country.

Expressions such as competitive pressure, lack of time or career-mindedness are unknown. Happiness and contentedness exist because of an intact social network embedded in old traditions.

This harmony is destroyed when a German businesswoman discovers the quality of the papier-maché figures and places more and more export orders.

Kadu finds it difficult to adjust to the new conditions. The family receives compensation in the form of a television set, a new car and finally a flight to West Germany.

The Australian entry, *Manganinnie*, is also critical of the results of so-called civilisation.

Manganinnie, the red-fire woman, sees how her tribe is hunted down and murdered by white settlers.

Protected by only a burning torch she fights her way through the wilderness. Her journey is full of despair, longing, loneliness. Anger and resignation set in.

Director John Honey carefully and vividly presents the distress and helplessness of this human being in his film.

The clarity of his criticism is both moving and captivating.

Manganinnie not only provides information but also food for thought about our own situation. It is one of the best films.

The Dutch production *Kämpfen um beide* (German title: Fighting for both of them) deals with a problem of today, an everyday story.

Freddy's parents want to get a divorce. Freddy doesn't understand the situation and leaves home.

His only hope is Saskia, his girlfriend, whose parents have also separated. She belongs to a club of children with divorced parents.

In this group Freddy finds a hide-out and, what is more important, understanding.

The film does not omit harsh realities which indicates the genuine commitment of its director.

Despite the serious nature of the film there are no frightening sequences. Amusing scenes with their bright colours manage to break the serious mood of conflicts and quarrels. The film's message is hope.

Even if the parents decide on a divorce it's not the end of the world. This point is conveyed well by the film.

Fairy tales have a special part to play

Continued on page 12

Divorce rate climbs as ideas about permanence of marriage change

The divorce rate is skyrocketing in West Germany. More than one in four marriages since 1956 have ended in divorce.

In 1982, a record year, 118,483 couples were divorced. Is marriage as an institution dying out?

Hard though it is to be married, the marriage game remains popular: The annual number of marriages has remained constant at between 340,000 and 360,000 over the past ten years.

But taking into account the number of marriages that end in the traditional way through death (315,000 a year) the number of existing marriages is clearly going down.

Psychologists and sociologists are agreed that our social values are undergoing fundamental change.

"The value of marriage is waning", says Hans Asmus of Tübingen University's Sociology Department.

And psychologist Rolf Kirchner of the Family Affairs Counselling Centre of the German Family Law Forum in Stuttgart suggests that "many people who get married today no longer do so with the idea of staying married for life."

Legal aspects play a secondary role here. The change of divorce laws that came into effect on 1st January 1977, doing away with the "guilty party" principle, has had no effect on the overall number of divorces, according to the Bonn Justice Ministry.

After a brief decline in the number of divorces due to the need to adjust to the new law, the figures rose again, conti-



nuing the trend that had existed until 1976. The number of divorces has risen tow-and-a-half-fold since the mid-1950s.

Tübingen University professor Reinhard Lempp (who is the medical director of the University's Youth and Child Psychiatry Clinic and frequently has to deal with broken marriages) blames the rise in the number of divorces on two main factors: the dwindling number of children who frequently keep a marriage together and the decline of religious ties.

The Stuttgart Family Affairs Counselling Centre points to the growing strain imposed on family life.

"With the intimacy of its relations, marriage is expected to assume additional functions in an increasingly depersonalised society. The family has become the focal point and the demands it has to meet have grown", says lawyer Volker Rabaa, chairman of the German Family Law Forum.

The declining ability to communicate from person to person makes matters even worse. "People no longer know how to talk to each other," say Raban and Kirchner.

They blame this on the invasion of family life by television and other electronic media.

Accompanying this is a growing inability to cope with crises. "Conflicts that arise hit people like a natural disaster."

The economic slump makes for even more marital conflicts, says Hans Asmus. He points to his observation that intact families tend to close ranks in a crisis while those that already have cracks fall apart.

The new divorce law with its pension splitting has provided divorced women with more material security, which explains why it is predominantly women who seek a divorce, says Raban: Close to 60 per cent of divorce suits are filed by women.

But the roots sure to go far beyond financial considerations.

"Emancipation has encouraged more and more women to demand things for themselves. Never before have so many women had the skills needed to hold a job and they no longer want to be just housewives," says Reinhart Lempp, seconded by Hans Asmus.

While women — indirectly supported by the feminist movement — have thus become more conscious of the avenues open to them, there is no such boost to the man's ego. In fact, some men become insecure, says Asmus.

One of the most frequent sources of problems in new marriages lies in the fact that men are unable ... umbilical cord that ties the ... parents, says Reinhart Lempp.

In his experience, it is the ... man who is unable to get away ... mother's apron strings, and ... ly raises the wife's hackles.

"The main victims of a ... the children. The result of ... they never experience how ... marriage going. Bad marriag... much 'hereditary' as good ... Lempp.

Does all this mean that ... will continue to rise?

Lempp is reluctant to ... cast. He points to the fact ... forms of living together ... saying that marriages without ... go certificate are spreading.

Living together

The fact is that the number ... unlegalised marriages has ... According to estimates by the ... Institute for Demographic ... Wiesbaden, about one million ... ed West Germans lived as ... 1980 — three times the figure ...

Is this type of marriage ... place of the old-fashioned ...

The Stuttgart Counselling ... lieves in a renaissance of the ... for life."

Pointing to the Greens, ... suggests that the nation is ... from materialistic values and ... will have an effect on the ... His forecast is on the optimis... "The challenges confronting ... mately strengthen the family."

Joachim ...

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 10 Sep...)

Film festival

Continued from page 11

in this year's festival. Dopey kings, wicked thieves, dangerous dragons, noble ladies and plenty of intrigue are shown in the Czechoslovakian and Soviet productions. The ideal world cliché with the happy end of classic fairy tale films.

Konrad aus der Konservenbüchse (Konrad from the canned food tin) is a fairy tale with a difference.

The film turns the world topsy-turvy, dreams are suddenly reality and children do everything they are normally not allowed to do: be cheeky, paint walls.

How does all this happen? Well, Konrad is a well-educated lad but unfortunately he is handed in at the wrong address.

As he wants to stay with Frau Bartalotti and has to learn how to become a proper, i. e. a cheeky child.

This West German production from Claudia Schröder casts doubt in an unconventional way on the usual educational categories and encourages children to have more fun in life.

If anybody claims that there are not enough children's films worth watching this year's festival proves him wrong.

The growing interest for this film genre should be a signal for film producers to devote more attention to children's films in future.

Andrea Scherell

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 September 1983)

One-parent families: prejudice on top of the other problems

One out of ten children grows up with only one parent. Not only do the single fathers and mothers have to cope with the double burden of child rearing and being a provider; they must also cope with handed-down prejudices.

A survey on the subject among Hamburg adults has been carried out by the sociology department of Hamburg University.

Two-thirds of the respondents said that they knew personally single parents, writes Dr Anneke Napp-Peters in Kölner *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*.

Most of the respondents referred to divorced and separated parents (46 per cent) and to unmarried parents (19 per cent).

Only 1.4 per cent meant a widowed father and 5.6 per cent a widowed mother, although widowed people account for one-third of the one-parent families in this country.

This strange fact brings to mind what one of the single parents, a widow, once said ("widowed parents are overlooked by society because there is nothing sensational about them"), says Dr Napp-Peters.

Most of the respondents, especially those with a higher education and from the upper social strata, were quite aware of the fact that single parents have a hard lot to bear.

This, they said, applies particularly to school and child rearing problems.

But very few of the respondents had anything to say about the things that single parents find most difficult to put up with: prejudices among landlords and employers, loneliness and dependence on others.

The lack of understanding for the problems of single parents is greatest



where the traditional roles of men and women are concerned.

For instance when asked whether a single father with small children should stay home and mind the children, living on social welfare if necessary, or whether he should "be a proper man and earn a living," the traditional view that a man should work prevailed among the respondents.

This view was most conspicuous among those over 55 and those from the lower social strata.

Dr Napp-Peters concludes that single fathers who devote themselves entirely to home and children can expect little understanding and support from these people.

Most of these respondents said that their rigid attitude stemmed from the fact that "a man's dignity" rests on his earning a living and providing for his family.

Ninety per cent of all respondents went to far as to say that fathers of children of school-going age should hold a "decent job."

But virtually none of those who held this view had given any thought to the fact that this would mean that the children would be without supervision while not at school. Nor did they give any thought to who would ... after them during school holi... when they were sick.

And it is these "in betwee... that cause single parents the ... aches, says Dr Napp-Peters.

The role of the single mother ... in an entirely different light. ... than three-quarters of the resp... held that she should stay ho... mind her small children — not ... cause they need their mother ... because it is better for her to ... home and family.

But the same number of resp... considered it better if a mother ... children of school-going age hold ... gular job.

However, the reason given ... was not that this was better for ... putation and well-being of the ... but that the children now ... needed her that much.

By and large, Dr Napp-Peters ... gests, the public is rather sceptical ... the functions of single child ... parents.

Eighty five per cent doubt that ... ther alone can do justice to a ... needs and 78 per cent have the ... doubts regarding the single mother...

The father, they say, cannot ... children the necessary warmth ... mother does not have the firm... that is a must in child rearing.

Rolf Degen/deutscher forschungs...

(General-Anzeiger, 10 Septem...)

■ HEALTH

Biologically grown foods just a sham — researcher

... logical foods are not better than ... rmal foods, says a report by agri... al researchers.

... y conclude after extensive tests ... three years that the biological ... school of thought is a sham.

... report has caused a row in envi... ntal circles. It was put together ... UFA, the collective name for three ... ltural research institutes at Ol... rg, Speyer and Weihenstephan, ... oncludes that biological food:

... es not taste better than other

... not healthier

... es not guarantee good health

... es not help prevent cancer

... main difference turned out to be ... bio foods often cost about dou-

... findings were reached after tests ... 9,000 samples of everyday food ... as bread, fruit and vegetables from ... over Germany. Examination was ... for traces of toxic substances in... ng heavy metals, weedkillers and ... residues.

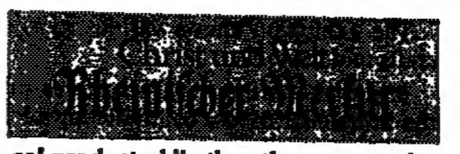
... mparisons were also made on vita... ontent, smell and taste.

... magazine *Natur* says the study is ... less. The samples should have ... taken direct from bio farms and ... ns. It blames the findings on mis... led goods in bio shops.

... idea behind the survey was to an... the food in the form in which it ... hes the consumer.

... or this reason the samples were not ... from the fields but were bought in ... s and supermarkets or in the so... d biological food outlets. This was ... to provide a representative cross-... ion for the nation, as a whole.

... he biological food carried such la... as *Bio-Norm, Demeter* or *biologi-*



cal product while the other was regular food of the kind found in any shop.

Only four per cent of the food farmed with modern fertilisers showed minimal and absolutely harmless traces of the 45 types of residue substances under examination. The figure for biological food was 2.7 per cent.

Only one per cent of the specimens over the three-year period of the survey exceeded maximum permissible levels of toxic substances to the point where legal action could have been taken; but they still remained well below the danger threshold for human consumption.

Four of the specimens here came from modern farms and three from so-called bio-farms.

The researchers conclude: "It would be untenable and misleading to label food produced without chemicals as quality food while branding the rest as inferior."

The analyses also showed that the toxic substances — if they existed at all — were mere traces in both varieties of food and posed no danger whatsoever to the consumer.

There were also next to no differences between biological and regular food regarding such heavy metals as cadmium. The concentrations were, if anything, greater in the biological variety.

Neither variety contained dangerous fungi — like aflatoxin — that could cause cancer.

Polychlorinated biphenyl was found in scattered cases; but the concentration was 0.05 mg per kilo or less, putting it well below the danger threshold.

The amount of residue was equal in the two types of food.

The analysis of mercury concentrations was abolished after a year because, if they existed at all, they were so small as to be untraceable.

No difference in the nitrate content of the two types of potatos, lettuce and carrots was found.

Carrots had higher concentrations than the other vegetables, but that was simply due to the special properties of the carrot.

The nitrate content in bread and apples was so low that no further analysis was made.

The comparison of vitamins, taste and smell showed almost no differences between the two.

The conclusion was that the nutritive value of food could not be improved by buying biological produce.

But the consumer who buys all or much of his food from the same producer runs the risk of not getting enough nutrition, particularly consumers who buy their food from a single bio-farmer.

The survey has proved that modern agriculture and the chemical industry — if one disregards a few exception — have been unjustly criticised.

Thus nullifies the Green party (environmental class struggle slogan: "Because you're poor and cannot afford expensive bio-products you must die earlier)."

The only thing in which bio-products differ from the rest is their price, which is frequently double.

The LUFA survey has hit the Greens like a hailstorm.

The magazine *Natur* is now trying to regain lost ground by maintaining that the study is worthless because the specimens used by the researchers were not taken directly from bio-farms and gardens but from bio-shops that mislabelled their goods.

LUFA manager Helmut Targes has rejected this accusation. He says it is a "malicious distortion of facts."

The Greens levelled the charges only because the scientific results of the study don't fit their ideology, he said. The analysis methods were absolutely above board and would stand any check.

The results must be taken as representative and unimpeachable — especially in view of the fact that only 0.1 per cent of German arable land is farmed biologically.

Helmut Zarges stressed that his organisation had no intention of maligning the socalled bio-scene and that its only aim was to find out whether food produced with modern methods actually contained more toxic substances than the biological kind. It does not. This has now been clearly established.

Rainer Sachadae

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 9 September 1983)

Biologically grown foods not just a sham — researcher

Professor Hartmur Vogtmann of Kassel University has the distinction of being West Germany's only university professor who deals entirely with biological farming methods.

This naturally makes him more open-minded than this colleagues towards the problems and products of bio-farmers. But the ways in which experts on conventional farming and those on bio-farming tackle some of the problems are similar.

Take the nitrate content in vegetables and drinking water which is due to the use of nitrate-based fertilisers that are vital to plant life.

The trouble with these fertilisers that they provide plants with more nutrients than they can absorb. As a result, the plant fills up on nitrates, leaving the excess to find its way to the water table.

The nitrate is transformed into nitrite in the saliva, and the nitrite in its turn can easily turn into nitrosamines which are suspected of causing cancer and having an adverse genetic effect.

A special commission of the German Research Association puts the critical level of the daily nitrate intake at 40 mg. Exceeding this level leads to conspicuous nitrate concentrations in the saliva.

The nitrate level in Switzerland — whose research institutions Professor Vogtmann closely cooperates with — is more than twice this figure, with the daily intake of 91.1 mg.

Most of the intake — 70 per cent — is accounted for by vegetables, while the rest comes from drinking water.

The figures, which are likely to be the same in Germany, have prompted Professor Vogtmann to urge that the use of nitrates in agriculture be reduced in favour of animal manure. This would supply the plants with sufficient nutrients without undesirable side effects.

The fertiliser industry has adopted a similar concept and is now supplying special products that are absorbed equally slowly.

Professor Vogtmann sees this as an indirect proof that biological farmers are not too far off the mark.

But the difficulties lie in the details. Not every plant fertilised with animal manure provides the hoped for increased yield.

This calls for careful planning by the farmer, though little is known about the mechanics that play a role.

Professor Vogtmann is therefore carraying out a series of tests to establish how individual plants react to the different types of fertiliser.

This difference in the plant's reactions also makes it difficult to come up with commercially feasible biological farming methods.

The differences can also serve to explain some of the conflicting results of various research projects.

Professor Vogtmann also stresses the necessity of taking dry substances as the basis of comparison between biological and conventional farm produce.

Since conventionally grown fruit contains more water than the biological variety, the latter has an edge.

Taking into account that the biological produce has a longer storage life, there is much to be said in favour of this type of farming, Professor Vogtmann holds.

Dieter Schwab

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 September 1983)

■ MINORITY GROUPS

Gypsy exhibition opens in spite of a few problems

An exhibition dealing with gypsies has opened at the ethnological museum in Hamburg despite a row which resulted in the gypsies themselves withdrawing support.

It was originally intended that the gypsies in Hamburg would contribute their own exhibits documenting their persecution from 1933 until today.

The difficulty arose when the Hamburg council refused them permission to investigate the city's state archives. The gypsies wanted to demonstrate that



Romany woman near Madrid in 1976

in all German states separate records were kept of them until the late 1960s.

But Hamburg said that the files contained personal data which may not be made public for 60 years. An exception would not be made.

The gypsies, represented by the Romany and Sinti Union, then withdrew support from the museum.

Mounting the exhibition was a difficult enough task even without these problems. The museum asked the council for DM300,000 as a subsidy but was given only DM50,000. The museum itself came up with another DM30,000.

Despite all this, the exhibition is a remarkable one. It depicts the history of the gypsies who originally came to central Europe from north west India via Persia, Armenia, Greece and Yugoslavia. Various words adopted by the gypsy language help trace this migration. The German word for gypsy is *Zigeuner* and



comes from the Byzantine Atsigani sect with whom the gypsies were probably confused because of the similarity of their ritual purity laws.

The English word originates from "Egyptian" because many of thes strangers said that they came from Egypt Minor, meaning the Peloponnese, in Greece.

Belying an old German folksong, the life of the gypsies has rarely been merry. Throughout their history, they have been persecuted through legislation and have suffered deprivation.

They found mercy only if they were prepared to give up their own laws and way of life and conform.

But they were rarely prepared to despite the fact that their traditional sources of income, like dealing in horses, basket making and coppersmithing, only just enabled them to eke out a living.

The exhibition shows various gypsy crafts and the tools.

It also shows the social structures of the individual tribes, contradicting old prejudices about gypsies.

Flamenco dancing and Hungarian violin music are not of gypsy origin but were adopted by talented gypsy performers, the exhibition shows.

It also has a unique collection of fortune telling dolls which the gypsies say have magic powers.

These simple rag dolls that look as if they were made by children make it obvious that gypsy culture cannot be measured by the yardsticks of our own civilisation.

Poor, itinerant and often threatened, the gypsies lack the affluence ... rity of settled people — the ... that makes for great art.

Birgit Kra...
(Die Welt, 18 Sep...)

Sinti man with Dachau ... roarm. (Photo: ...)

Romanies' home sweet home demolished

No gypsy would be ever turned away from the city of Darmstadt, promised the mayor in a speech in 1979 to mark a gypsy festival.

Three large families of Romanies took the words at their face value and moved into the city.

Four years later, their house has been bulldozed to the ground. So much for the words.

When the bulldozers moved in, the gypsies were away on holiday. A spokesman for the city said: "We thought they had moved out of the area."

No one bothered to salvage the belongings. The were all ploughed under in the rubble.

Romani Rose, the chairman of the Central Council of German Sinti and Romany, said: "This is the worst the Germans have done to the gypsies since 1945!"

Back from holiday, the shocked victims went to City Hall. They were told that the demolition was because of the danger of epidemics and because the house was on the verge of collapse.

Why were their possessions not taken out of the house? A mere shrug was the answer.

The gypsies bought themselves some tents and camped in a remote spot right next to an illegal rubbish dump. One observer counted 120 ratholes in the vicinity.

The camp was visited by a delegation of internationally known human rights champions investigating charges of racism against the Darmstadt council.

Among them was Professor Eugen Kogon, the Jewish author of the book *The SS State*. He said: "This is without doupt a hangup from the racist past of the Hitler era."

But rather than pin the blame on anybody, he suggested that the proper course of action would be to talk with the present mayor, Günther Metzger (SPD).

Metzger, however, was hurt by the accusation of racism and refused to receive the complainants.

"The demolition of the house was legally above board," he said in a radio interview.

Yet everything had started promisingly. When they arrived, four years ago, the three Romany families were taken from their dilapidated caravans and housed.

But since they had no papers they were only given temporary residence permits.

The two major churches in Germany made sure that they did not starve, and the City even provided a special class for the children.

The men were given jobs by the parks department, and one family ... lised in making copperware ... DM3,000 loan to buy a machine.

But the city were wrong ... that the integration of the ... manies was well under way ... nothing could go wrong.

The former caravan dwelle... ed with their merry-making.

They had different ide... friendliness which led to ... the neighbours.

Those who had jobs with ... department could not com... with regular work.

The city decided to get t... autumn of 1982. The men we... from the social welfare regis... grounds that they "shirked w...

The gypsies felt betrayed a... minated against by ever new b... tic obstacles when trying to fi... and housing.

"Let us have regular state... ports instead of temporary ... permits," they demanded.

Eugen Kogon backed them ... that "proper papers are the firs... wards integration."

Darmstadt has refused to ... stateless passports, arguing ... would presuppose that the Ro... actually stateless.

"But in this case we suspect ... of them are Yugoslav citizens ... hiding their passports."

H. H. Kam...
(Die Welt, 31 Au...)

MODERN LIVING

Stressed: who is, who's not and who thinks who is

...e Allensbach research organisation has discovered a strange an...y. In their relentless quest to keep ...t of the times, the pollsters have ...tigated the state of stress in the Federal Republic.

...e results are an eye opener: 61 per ... of those polled believed that most ...ir fellow Germans laboured under ...ffects of stress, but only 31 per cent ...tted that they themselves were af...d by stress.

...e first question asked: "Do you ... the impression that most people in ... Federal Republic suffer from ...?" Twenty per cent of the 2,000 ...e polled said they didn't know. ...19 per cent said most people were ...ffected by stress while 61 per cent ...o doubt: most people were.

...counter question by Allensbach: ... would you say: Are you suffer...om stress?" revealed another pic... Seven per cent gave no answer, 31 ...nt said they were and 62 per cent ...hey were not.

...e findings of the researchers is also ...adictory. Comparisons with other ...tries makes it clear that stress in ...any is a much more serious topic ... in other places. Allensbach quotes ...ts from Denmark, the Netherlands ... Austria which show that there are ... differences.

...wenty eight per cent of the Danes, ...er cent of the Austrians and only ...er cent of the Dutch admitted to ...gs of being stressed. The respective ...ures for "no" were 68, 65 and 88 ...ent.

...strians were also asked about how ...ajority of Austrians were affected ...ess, and the result was about the ...as in Germany: 61 per cent said most were stressed and 18 per cent they weren't.

The Danes and especially the Dutch presented another picture. Only 41 per cent in each case said that most people were stressed. But 30 per cent of the Danes and 48 per cent of the Dutch said that most people weren't.

Allensbach comes to the conclusion that the idea of stress is everywhere strongly overestimated. It compares what people actually think about stress and what they think people think about it.

The contradiction was corroborated by a question about satisfaction with life. "Do you have the feeling that most people in Germany are satisfied with their lot?"

Only 47 per cent said yes. Yet 79 per cent said that they themselves were, by and large, satisfied with their lives.

A closer look reveals that more semi-skilled workers (46 per cent) feel that they are under stress than skilled workers (40 per cent). That's similar to the figure for white-collar workers (42 per cent). Most of the pressure is apparently felt by people in senior positions. Every second self-employed person feels he or she is labouring under stress.

The figure goes up to 59 per cent for senior employees and civil servants.

The difference between that people feel and what the situation actually is is underlined by a question involving work.

Sixty three per cent say that their own working conditions are either very good or good; 31 per cent say not bad; and five per cent say bad or very bad. The rest had an even worse opinion.

On the question of what working conditions at large were like, 45 per cent said very good or good; 40 per cent said bad or very bad. The institute ventured the supposition that there appeared to be strengthening negative mood over the whole question. It explains the contradictions: "As soon as the majority believes that most people suffer from stress — and that is the case in Germany — the individual feels under pressure. In this atmosphere, people are quicker to think they are under stress than they would otherwise."

Joachim Worthmann
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 8 September 1983)



Heinrich Liermann . . . the mud-flat express. (Photo: Karsten Kolloge)

Tears of joy and a lump in the throat

...ere is probably a little truth be...ind all the beliefs about various ...nal temperaments. The English are ...bly a little cooler, and south Eu...ns probably are more hot blooded ... other Europeans.

...e supporting evidence comes from ...gress report by a German psycho..., Professor Klaus R. Scherer, of ...en University, who is carrying out ...dy together with scientists from ...erland, Britain, France, Italy, and ... scientists from Germany. The ...y involves questioning 100 people ...ch nationality about the causes of ... feeling and how they are express...

...is pot-pourri of emotions has been ...ced to a comparison between the ... ones of joy, sadness, fear and ...

...ofessor Scherer has presented the ...ts collected so far in the magazine, ...al Science Information.

...e says that people in all of the na...al groups experienced happiness ...n they were together with friends ... when they experienced some sort ... success in life.

...he British particularly got satisfac... from their basic needs of life, eat... drinking and sex. The French felt ...icularly comfortable in the compa... of their relatives.

Almost everybody was sad when ...eone close, or pet, died; over a crisis in personal relationships; and when things went wrong. Most also suffered, in these situations from outbursts of dejection.

Fear struck most in dangerous traffic situations, except the Italians. And most people were frightened at the supernatural, horror films, general events of failure in life or being on the receiving end of physical aggression.

Most got angry when personal relationships went wrong and when damage was senselessly caused to public property. This last situation got the British particularly worked up.

Many became angry when they felt neglected by their friends or when they came up against unnecessary unpleasantness.

It is not only the cause of emotion that varies from nation to nation. So does it strength. The British appears to cloak their emotions more than other nationalities. They admit they keep a specially strong rein on their more pleasant emotions.

Southern Europeans like the French and Italians say that they are more open with their less pleasant feelings than northern Europeans.

With everybody, it appears that sadness is the longest lasting of all emotions. Anger and fear are mostly shorter lived. Happiness is somewhere in the middle.

But there are differences in how prepared people are to reflect their emotions in speech.

While people generally talk readily about joy and anger, they don't so much over fear or sadness.

The Germans talk more freely than any of the national groups about their joy, but they are among the most silent when it comes to speaking about anger, fear and sadness.

But feelings are as the survey shows, for people of all nationalities, things that involve the heart. Good moods cause feelings of relaxation and well being. That means it is easy to laugh.

Depression brings about the familiar tightness in the throat and the body becomes sluggish. Many people are moved to tears.

In the face of fear, the heart pounds and the blood freezes. Some people get the feeling that they are sweating blood. They want to run away, but are often are unable to because they feel rooted to the spot.

Rolf Degen/deutscher forschungsdienst
(Die Welt, 3 September 1983)

Loneliness of the long-distance, bare-footed postman

The post office has strict regulations about what clothing postmen must wear. But at least one ignores them and delivers the mail barefoot.

Heinrich Liermann, 40, lives on the north Friesian island of Pellworm. He is the last of the postmen who trudge across to the small islands of the North Sea coast.

Three times a week in summer and twice in winter he plods his way across the sea of mud behind the receding tide from Pellworm seven kilometres to the little island of Süderoog.

There is only one family on the island, Herr and Frau Thomsen. Liermann takes any return mail and then makes the journey back to Pellworm before the tide turns and reclaims the mud flats.

When all goes according to plan, his mission last five hours. An hour later, Süderoog is again cut off by the sea.

Liermann sets out by walking 800 metres from his home to the end of the firm land. At the beginning of the mud flats, he takes off his shoes, puts them in his pack next to the mail, rolls up his trousers and sets off using a walking stick for support. Always a stickler for correctness, he puts on his shoes at the other end before handing over the mail.

When the weather is good, he can see Süderoog the entire length of his journey. When the fog closes in, he uses a compass. If the fog is very heavy, as it sometimes is in the autumn, Liermann uses a foghorn. On his return journey, his wife stands at his departure point on Pellworm with another fog horn and guides him back. When it gets too cold, he wears hip-high boots instead of going barefoot.

Gerhard and Erika Thomsen are the only people on Süderoog. In 1971, the State of Schleswig-Holstein bought the 65 hectare (160 acres) island for 400,000 marks and the Thomsens took over as tenant farmers. They run cows and chicken. In summer they sometimes provide lodgings for holidaymakers. But this is an island for birds, a bird sanctuary, for the terns, and gulls.

Liermann is not a full-time postman. He gets paid 16 marks an hour for his work. That is not enough to live on. So he runs a small hotel and restaurant by the beach. The big attraction is the wreck of the Ormen Friske, a 30-metre viking-style ship built by Swedish students in 1950. It put to sea manned by 15 students but ran into a hurricane and was wrecked.

Heinrich Liermann's father, Heinrich senior, discovered the wreck near Pellworm. Now, with its dragon-shaped prow, it sits high out of the ground like some antediluvian exclamation mark.

Liermann's grandfather trod the same postal route between Pellworm and Süderoog for 45 years. He died in 1974 at the age of 92 after clocking up 100,000 muddy kilometres.

His successor was a woman, Edith Mextorf. Ten years ago, Liermann junior took over after learning to be a fisherman. He has reached 10,000 kilometres on the mud flats, and has not had a day off sick since he began.

Joseph Schmidt
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 September 1983)